Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-89-133 *13 July 1989*

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Conference on Military Doctrines Described

AU2706093989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jun 89 p 5

[ADN report: "International Conference on Military Doctrines in FRG"]

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—A several-day international seminar at the Research Institute for International Politics and Security in Ebenhausen (Bavaria FRG), which was concluded on the weekend [24-25 June], focused on security concepts, military strategies, and NATO and Warsaw Pact military doctrines. Fifty-five politicians, officers, and scientists from CSCE states, among them Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact United Armed Forces, heads, and deputy heads of delegations to the Vienna negotiations, compared the military doctrines of the two alliances.

The GDR was represented by Prof Max Schmidt, director of the International Politics and Economics Institute, and Prof Wilhelm Nordin, a retired vice admiral. Notwithstanding different and sometimes contrary points of view on many questions, there was agreement that the present international situation makes it necessary to aim the military doctrines and armed forces exclusively at preventing war.

The participants in the conference agreed with Prof Schmidt's proposal to attach more importance to studying military doctrines in scientific work, and to discussing them as part of a process during the Vienna negotiations on confidence-building measures.

FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher stressed that the seminar has blazed the trail for dialogue on military doctrines in the next years. The exchange of ideas between diplomats, officers, and scientists could play a stimulating role in the further negotiations in Vienna.

UNESCO CEMA Countries Conference Opens

AU0407135789 Sofia BTA in English 1029 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 4 (BTA)—The Socialist Countries' National Commissions for UNESCO opened their 26th conference here. Taking part are representatives of Afghanistan, the Belorussian SSR, Bulgaria, Vietnam, the GDR, Ethiopia, the DPRK, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, the Ukrainian SSR, Hungary, the Soviet Union. Delegations of Angola and Mozambique are expected, too.

The meeting, called before the 25th General Conference of UNESCO, will consider all aspects of the international organization's work and the possibilities to improve it. UNESCO's third medium-term draft plan (1990-1995) is on the agenda, too. The participants discuss the possibilities for more active cooperation among the socialist countries' national commissions.

The conference will continue until July 7.

Conference Concludes

AU0707140589 Sofia BTA in English 1348 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 7 (BTA)—Positive changes have taken place in UNESCO and its activity in connection with the overall improvement of the international climate, says the final report of the 26th meeting of the socialist countries' national commissions for UNESCO, which was called on the eve of the session of the international organisation's general conference. Taking part were delegations from Angola, Afghanistan, the Belorussian SSR, Bulgaria, Vietnam, the GDR, Ethiopia, the DPRK, Cuba, Laos, Mozambique, Mongolia, the Democratic People's Republic of Yemen, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian SSR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

The participants considered the draft for UNESCO's third medium-term plan (1990-1995) and characterized it as a sound foundation for the organisation's promising work.

The meeting took account of the need to improve the forms of cooperation among the socialist countries' national commissions for UNESCO.

Number of Bloc Observers Allowed at EC Noted

LD0807111289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Hungary henceforth can send six parliamentary representatives as observers to sessions of one of the integrating organizations of the European capitalist countries—the European Council [EC]. The same number of representatives can be sent by Poland and Yugoslavia; the Soviet Union can send 18. Other socialist countries have not been given this right. The heads of the socialist countries' delegations which had been invited as observers were allowed to speak yesterday at the current session of the European Council.

Article Denounces Islam Ideological System

AU1207100889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Jul 89 p 2

[Mariana Mikhaylova article: "Trapped by the Absurd"]

[Text] Even a passing glance at the headlines of the articles which have appeared in recent years in the Western press, and continue to appear there, notes the presence of the Muslim theme. A more profound analysis of the contents of the diversified printed matters allows the following firm conclusion: The Western researchers simultaneously are attracted to and repelled by the Islam.

The interest toward the self-assessment of the Muslims is specifically expressed in conclusions and diverse empirical sociocultural facts, which give an idea about the inner world of great human communities. Those are communities of people for whom "Jihad —the holy war of the Muslims," is something more than exultated laudation. The phenomenon in question is an ideological credo which is being cultivated by the mechanisms of suggestion and manipulation of the individual consciousness, a norm and a measure of ethics.

The reason for the critical analysis of the Islamic ideology and its influence over the personality was provided by numerous scientific analyses which offer a modern assessment of the multidirectional philosophy and practice of violence in the context of literal religious texts and treatises, included in the Koran. Recently the USSR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH magazine carried an article by Arkun Mohammed [spelling of name as transliterated], specialist of Arab history and literature in the University of Paris, entitled "The Personality in Islam." The author's position in his elucidation of the essential characteristics of the Islamic ideological weaponry for offensive and defensive apologetics is a convincing one.

The Islamic ideology achieves its goals within the framework of a closed system of cognition, with arguments presented as promises of the prophet and uncritical postulation of Koranic texts. The specialists of Islam studies find its ideological projections in the Muslim communities, in which, contrary to the logic of the modern civilized process, one observes a contradiction between the needs, prompted by the socioeconomic progress, and the background of the oppression of general cultural and intellectual development.

The Islamic ideological system asserts the stereotypes of thought and behavior, which mythologize man's emotional world and suggest to him a notions of rights, which can be enjoyed only within the narrow framework of a dogmatic orthodoxy. The personality, formed under conditions of a closed cognitive environment, burdened by prejudices and everyday life restrictions, accepts the texts, pronounced by the authorities, as the truth. A vicious circle appears. Ideological values, synonyms of an oppressive world, are incorporated in the consciousness as permanent and absolute factors. Thus, one could cite hundreds of examples of people, deprived of basic human rights or participation in the political life, fall into the trap of the absurd. The promises of the prophet are empty words, but according to the ideological norms, their only alternative is the struggle in the name of illusionary truths, spoken in his name. Thus, instead of the ideological system of values being the source of positive examples, from whom the civilized person could draw wisdom and force and overcome the lag and intellectual poverty, one witnesses a phenomenal source of uncritical acceptance of anachronisms. Furthermore, the Islamic ideology becomes a factor of the self-awareness of doom.

Daily Cites Article's 'Personal View'

AU1207103989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jul 89 p 2

[Editorial Note: "In Addition to What Has Been Published"]

[Text] Yesterday's issue of RABOTNICHESKO DELO [of 10 July] contained the commentary "Trapped by the Absurd," in which thoughts were expressed on certain issues relating to the Islamic religion. These express the personal view of the author.

In the spirit of broad glasnost and socialist pluralism, RABOTNICHESKO DELO publishes different viewpoints, without these viewpoints necessarily always expressing the opinion of the editorial collegium.

On the issue of the role of religion and people's religious convictions, our state shows respect to all citizens and respect to all religions. This standpoint is also the position of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial office.

Cypriot Envoy on Settlement of Muslims in Cyprus

AU1207114989 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 7 Jul 89 p 6

[Interview with Frixos Kolotas, Cypriot ambassador to Greece, by Evgeni Toromanov of SOFIA PRESS AGENCY, in Athens "specially for TRUD"; date not given: "The Policy of Fait Accompli Is an Anachronism"]

[Text] In connection with the statements made by Rauf Denktas, leader of the Turkish Cypriots, on the possible settlement of Bulgarian Muslims in northern Cyprus in the region of Famagusta, Evgeni Toromaniov, the SOFIA PRESS AGENCY correspondent in Athens, specially interviewed for TRUD Frixos Kolotas, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cyprus in Greece, who this spring was also appointed Cypriot ambassador to Bulgaria.

The ambassador made the following statement:

By inviting the Bulgarian Muslims to settle in the occupied areas of Cyprus, Rauf Denktas is trying to demonstrate his "humanity," but to the detriment of the elementary human rights of the Greek Cypriot refugees. What is more, he is disposing of foreign-owned property in this manner. In essence, he is offering for settlement properties belonging to the Greek Cypriots who were forced, under the threat of Turkish arms, to leave their homes and establish themselves in the free part of the island. It is clear that whatever motives Denktas may have, they are not humanitarian. They are secret political motives, and show not only irresponsibility, but also cynicism. It is certain that Rauf Denktas is trying to create new cases of "fait accompli" at a time when the dialogue between the two communities under the aegis of the United Nations is in a period of crisis. In my view, this was also an attempt to "torpedo" and frustrate the internal negotiations in Cyprus. Denktas' acts were a new provocation and offense to the world community and the United Nations, who are constantly calling upon the Turkish Cypriot side to avoid any actions that may negatively affect the dialogue.

Fortunately, Denktas' provocation ended up in a vacuum, thanks to the speedy reaction of the Cypriot Government, which appealed to the United Nations and world forces, who intervened in a decisive manner. However, despite the fact that the moment of apparent danger has passed, the Cypriot Government continues to be ready to prevent new "faits accomplis."

[Toromanov] How, in your opinion, should Turkey's current foreign policy be described?

[Kolotas] Historically speaking, Turkish foreign policy has always been characterized by chauvinistic aspirations, despite the fact that the so-called "Ataturk dogma" declared an opposite course. It is no accident that Turkey has problems with almost all of its neighbors. It is impossible that all the neighboring countries are wrong and only Turkey is right. The reason for Turkey's "unsettled accounts" with its neighbors is nothing other than Turkey's chauvinism. In pursuing this policy, Ankara finds different grounds for interference in the internal affairs of the neighboring countries or, as in the case of Cyprus, for crudely imposing its own policy by force of arms.

It is true that at one time Turgut Ozal's administration used certain peace-loving terminology, which unfortunately has remained mere words. This was an attempt by Turkey to settle its problems with the neighboring countries through dialogue. However, perhaps because certain other, stronger circles in Turkey did not allow this dialogue to take place, Ankara very quickly returned to its old well-known practice of imposing its own demands by the right of force. Thus the military occupation of a large part of Cyprus also continues, and Turkey continues to make claims against the sovereign rights of Greece and to find motives for implementing Turkish aims in relation to all its neighbors.

The chauvinistic Turkish foreign policy is an anachronism at the very least, especially in the present international climate of detente. In the sensitive region of the Eastern Mediterranean, the policy of Turkey is not only an anachronism, but also dangerous.

Illegal Profits Reported From Muslim Exodus

AU1307080489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Jul 89 p 2

[Statement by Atanas Atanasov, deputy chief prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on illegal profits from deals related to the departure of Bulgarian Muslims: "Illegal Profits"—date, place not given]

[Text] Recently rumors are being spread about cases of "the big killing" made by drivers at the Kapitan Andreevo border checkpoint. Where does the truth lie? This question is answered by Atanas Atanasov, deputy chief prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Yes, there are such cases. During the period of 2 to 7 July alone more than 20 such cases were revealed at the Kapitan Andreevo border checkpoint, one of which involved 20,000 leva. I shall quote several cases and the modus operandi.

Drivers of private or official cars approach people in the column that is moving slowly toward the border along the various roads and offer to take them to the border within a few hours. For this service they demand from 700 to 1,000 leva. Two such drivers have been caught.

Drivers of official and private cars, who have made so-called "trips on the side" without obtaining permission from the relevant enterprises and without being authorized to provide transportation services, have been caught and their profits have been confiscated. Here are the names of some of them: On 2 July Dralcho Donev Zhelyazkov from Gulubovo Village, Stara Zagora region, using his private truck and without authorization for transportation services, received 2,000 leva. A similar amount was received by Georgi Vlaev, a driver at the Sliven Transportation Cabs Enterprise. Georgi Merzanov from Dinevo Village, Khaskovo region, and Ilcho Angelov Mikhaylov from Zdravets Village, Kurdzhali region, received 300 and 800 leva respectively. On 5 July Veselin Kharizanov Manev from the town of Dolni Dubnik received 500 leva, while Emil Yankov from Temenuga Village, Kurdzhali region, a driver at the "Chernogorovo" Agro-Industrial Complex, received 300 leva.

There have been cases of drivers promising to take large amounts of money across the border illegally, so that those who depart would not have to declare them.

Subsequently they disappeared, having pocketed the money. For their part, those who are leaving are striving by all means to take large amounts of money across the border, and offer generous remunerations.

Two cab drivers from Gabrovo, Nikolay Ivanov Karastoyanov and Rumen Penev Belchev, used their cabs to transport the property of the families of Dora Tomova Metodieva and Emiliya and Iliyan Ilievi from the same city. The two families expressed their "gratitude" by giving 2,000 leva to Nikolay Karastoyanov, and afterward an additional amount of 11,640 leva, which was to be taken across the border. On departure, their voluntary helper suddenly stated that the money was with Rumen Belchev, who had already headed back. He was detained in Simeonovgrad. The 24-year-old driver Stefan Manolov, from the "Freight Transportation" Truck Company in Kurdzhali, has been involved in a similar case.

A preliminary investigation has been started into all cases of violations. The amounts are being returned to the owners. Measures have been adopted to conduct additional checks with a view to revealing other cases. The law will strictly apply to all.

Delays at Kapikule Border Checkpoint Alleged
AU1107115689 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 10 Jul 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Delay Is on the Other Side"]

[Text] Since Saturday [8 July] the Turkish Kapikule border checkpoint opposite Kapitan Andreevo's checkpoint has slowed its work. Simultaneously, during the last 48 hours the number of Turkish transit passengers, travelers through our country, sharply increased.

This created difficulties for our control organs, which are working in increased numbers, quickly, and precisely. Nevertheless, the column of cars has reached a length of 10 kilometers. The jam was the result of the sluggish work on the Turkish side of the border. All attempts by the Bulgarian authorities to begin talks with the Turkish authorities and speed the processing of their citizens, who are the majority of the travelers, failed.

In the late afternoon hours on 9 July the Bulgarian border authorities processed 15 lines of cars. The jam restricts the possibility of the Bulgarian Muslims travelling to Turkey to cross the border, and subsequently they must remain for long periods of time on the road and at the terminals.

Religious Council Greets Muslims Bairam Holiday
AU1207180789 Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 12 Jul 89

["Greetings of the Supreme Religious Council of the Muslim Denomination"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 12 (BTA)—On the occasion of the holy festival "Qurban Bairam" the Supreme Religious Council of the Muslim denomination greets the Bulgarian Muslims with most cordial wishes for health, well being of the country and unity of the entire Bulgarian people.

The greeting calls on the faithful to offer the customary prayers for health, strength, wisdom and knowledge, for love for their homeland—Bulgaria—and all brother Bulgarians, [and] for labour. Because labour stays in the base of life, it secures the well being of our families, of the entire Bulgarian people. Fruit of your labour is also the qurban (sacrifice) that you will make, reads the greeting.

On behalf of the Supreme Religious Council the greeting has been signed by Ilia Georgiev, regional Mufty of Razgrad, who is acting as interim in charge of the Chief Mufty's Office, because Chief Mufty Dr Nedyo Gendzhev is on a pilgrimage-hadj to Mecca.

Participants in London Information Forum Queried
AU1107204089 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 28, 10 Jul 89 p 6

[Interview with Filip Bokov, "diplomat, leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the Information Forum in London," and Evgeniya Kiranova, "journalist and a member of the delegation," by Petur Pudev, POGLED reported; date, place not given: "Let Us Open Wide the Gates for Information"]

[Excerpts] [Pudev] What is actually happening in Bulgaria since the end of the Information Forum in London?

[Bokov] We are analyzing all the proposals that were made in London. The Union of Bulgarian Journalists joined this activity because the forum did not exclusively discuss the work of the foreign journalists. The issue of the information was extensively covered. The main thing now is to expand the access to information and more rapidly inform our public precisely about the issues that are of interest. [passage omitted]

[Pudev] This probably will create a new atmosphere, that will be sensed not by journalists alone....

[Bokov] A new situation emerges also because of the requirements of the Vienna document on the free production, dissemination, receiving, and sending of information, including the part of the individual. The jurists are still discussing this, but we must gradually get used to the thought that man becomes the subject of international law and the bans directed at individuals, and aimed at restricting their rights, may become an international issue. [passage omitted]

[Pudev] Do you think that the bill on the press, that is being prepared in our country, the idea on establishing a national news conference, and the implementation of some of the proposals of the London forum, are mutually connected?

[Bokov] They are connected because they affect the principles of information exchange in every European country, the United States, and Canada. By signing the Vienna document every state assumed the obligation to rely on these principles, and obviously, they must be incorporated in the legislature, which is being prepared in our country, and which is related to the press. [passage omitted]

[Pudev] There are regular news conferences in our country with the representatives of various institutions. Almost the same people from various departments are working with the press. What is preventing the establishment of a press center?

[Kiranova] You must address this question to those who are delaying its opening. As far as I am concerned, all prerequisites for opening the press center have been fulfilled.

[Pudev] Do you think that the press center must be profitable?

[Kiranova] It depends. It could hardly be profitable, but its activity could contribute to its financing. For example, the press center could issue information on future events, interesting subjects, reference, and so forth. I think that many editorial boards and journalists, including foreign journalists accredited in Bulgaria, would subscribe to such bulletins.

Atanasov Receives West German Justice Minister
AU1107182189 Sofia BTA in English
1732 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 11 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Mr Hans Engelhard, minister of justice of the FRG, who is visiting here at the head of a delegation.

The head of government briefed his guest on the processes of renewal extended to all spheres of public life in this country, and he stressed the economic reform. He also noted the amendments to socialist legislation which are intended to provide legal guarantees for restructuring and which are effected in keeping with the international commitments assumed by this country.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the promotion of relations between Bulgaria and the Federal Republic and of the contribution to this end of the contacts between the two countries' ministries of justice.

Mr Georgi Atanasov considered Bulgaria's constructive and peace-loving Balkan policy and this country's efforts toward strengthening good-neighbourliness, cooperation and understanding among states in the region.

The guest expressed satisfaction with the explanations concerning Bulgaria's policy toward believers which is characterized by guaranteeing the freedom of religion.

The meeting was attended by Mrs Svetla Daskalova, Bulgaria's minister of justice.

The West German justice minister, who is deputy chairman of the Free Democratic Party, was received by Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and first vice president of the State Council.

Exchanging information on the two parties' activities, the sides expressed a shared desire for a further promotion of cooperation between the BZNS and the Free Democratic Party for the sake of more active relations between Bulgaria and the FRG.

It was emphasized at the meeting that new political thinking and the constructive disarmament initiatives usher in a new situation in the world and that there are growing hopes for the building of a world of peace and of a common European home. In this connection, the summit dialogue between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Bulgaria [as received] was assessed as important for building security.

The delegation of the FRG Ministry of Justice also conferred with Mr Yaroslav Radev, vice president of the State Council and chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly's Standing Committee on Legislative Affairs. The guests were familiarized with the key points in the restructuring of the state and of the legal system.

Discussing the opportunities for cooperation, the sides pointed out that both countries would benefit from the organization of Bulgaro-West German days of law. The West German minister reaffirmed the readiness of jurists in his country to help the study of comparative economic law of the advanced capitalist countries in Bulgaria, which will start here this coming autumn.

The delegation of the FRG Ministry of Justice held talks with Mrs Svetla Daskalova, with Mr Ivan Velinov, president of the Supreme Court, and with Mr Vasil Mruchkov, prosecutor general of the republic.

Japanese Parliamentary Delegation Meets Todorov
AU1107180789 Sofia BTA in English
1626 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 11 (BTA)—Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, received Mr Mitsunori Ueki [spelling of name as received], chairman of the Japan-Bulgaria Friendship Group with the Upper House of the Japanese Diet.

He stressed the deep respect of the Bulgarian parliamentarists for his efforts for popularization of Bulgaria's successes in Japan. In this connection the two sides stressed the desire of the deputies of the two countries to cooperate to the broadening of the cooperation. It was

pointed out that the established good traditions in the parliamentary relations should be activated even more in the light of the new realities in the world.

Mr Stanko Todorov informed the Japanese guest about the innovative processes in Bulgaria, of the radical changes in all spheres of life. The role of the National Assembly in the process of restructuring, in the improvement of socialist democracy was stressed.

At the meeting between Mr Petko Danchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mr Mitsunori Ueki, the two sides noted the positive development of the Bulgaro-Japanese relations in the economic, techno-scientific and cultural sphere. Opinion was expressed that the economic reforms underway in Bulgaria at present will create good preconditions for broadening of the Japanese investments and technologies in Bulgaria.

Special attention was paid to the opportunities for activation of the cooperation in the food industry, agriculture, mechanical engineering, chemistry and consumer electronics.

BCP Committee Discusses Company Formation

AU1107201189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jul 89 p 6

[Katya Gyaurova report: "Critical Analysis and Specific Action For Change"]

[Text] The process of the transition toward the company-based principle of economic activity in Sofia is not developing with a steady speed. There is a delay, and many difficulties and shortcomings. This was one of the general conclusions made by the 6 July meeting organized by the Sofia City Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] under the slogan "About Some Basic Tasks of the Company-Based Organization in Sofia."

In his speech Georgi Grigorov, secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee, critically analyzed the hitherto organizational stage and pointed out specific actions aimed at achieving a change. These actions are mandatory in order to intercept the attempts to simplify the company-based organization, turning in into another administrative reorganization, change of names, or pseudo-restructuring.

The "spine" of the company-based organization has been basically constructed in Sofia. As of 30 June 1989, some 75 state companies have been registered in the Sofia City Court. They encompass 195 enterprises. Some 7 limited and 69 municipal companies have been established. However, this is only the beginning. The initial enthusiasm is slowly replaced by waiting. The adaptation to the new organization is taking place slowly, and its methods and forms are being mastered with difficulties. The speaker pointed out many examples of state companies, which are not efficient in their work, increase their expenditures, and do not envisage personnel cuts.

The chairmen of the management boards of all companies registered in Sofia, secretaries on economic matters of the BCP municipal committees, specialists, leaders of the municipal people's councils and the Sofia City People's Council, and representatives of the city prosecutor office and court, who attended the meeting, had the opportunity to ask questions, which were answered by the specialists.

In conclusion Ivan Panev, first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee and member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, expressed some considerations regarding this first meeting of Sofia businessmen. He said that the conclusion which emerges on the basis of this period is that the pace of restructuring in the economic area must be accelerated, and that we must advance toward technological renewal and changing the production structures of the companies.

Government Union Meeting on Plan Fulfillment

AU1207081489 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 7 Jul 89 pp 1,2

["Own information" report: "Full Support for Initiative on Fulfilling the Plan for 1989"]

[Excerpt] The session of the Council of Ministers and the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions [held in Sofia on 6 July], in which leaders of central government departments and associations and chairmen of the executive committees of the oblast people's councils also took part, was chaired by Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov. The report delivered by Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, stated that a very good agricultural harvest is expected this year, and its collection and full utilization is becoming a nationwide cause. Mass patriotism and labor activity are being demonstrated in the situation of severe manpower shortages. A number of initiatives are being undertaken to ensure fulfillment of the plans with reduced manpower, and a number of enterprises are working on Saturdays. At the same time many citizens who are preparing to leave for Turkey are not reporting at work, though they are making use of all the benefits created by society. Explanatory work is being conducted among them in order to bring them back to their labor obligations, and other legal measures will also be applied.

In his speech Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, explained the need to apply a flexible approach in implementing the initiatives on fulfilling and overfulfilling the plans. He stated that the trade unions are showing full understanding for departing from the usual labor relationships in the current strained situation, which demands reallocation

of manpower and extension of the working day. Reminding the meeting of the fact that the Bureau of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions recently adopted a decision in connection with mobilizing the labor front, Comrade Dyulgerov explained the reasons for the need to introduce good organization, order, and discipline, but without excessive interference, activating the people and making them become involved in solving the problems that had arisen. He stressed the role of the new incentives, which should be brought into effect immediately.

Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov elucidated the problems surrounding the stimulation of additional production, which should be applied in those places where it is desirable and feasible. At the same time there will be many cases where congratulations will be in order merely for fulfilling the plan. Our society is starting on a nationwide mobilization program to ensure greater output. We are setting ourselves realistic goals and tasks for substantially increasing the national income and foreign exchange receipts. However, in all cases we cannot get by without additional labor. This issue is to utilize various, highly effective forms and to create a flexible organization. Incentives will be provided, but in applying them we should not return to the old approaches of centralism. A specific economic environment is now being created to fully mobilize our people's forces. We must complete everything that we are already obliged to do. However, we will achieve good results only if we apply intelligent approaches, that is, create a good organization, but also act in a humane way, relying on the people.

The meeting ended with a businesslike examination of the practical approaches for achieving the tasks and goals set, a report on these issues being delivered by Deputy Council of Ministers Chairman Petur Danchev. Work is starting immediately on preparing integrated plans in the associations and oblast and municipal people's councils, after which these plans will be broken down according to organizations, companies, and types of products. This is being carried out not in the head offices, but on the spot: in the companies, economic organizations, and enterprises. The speaker drew attention to the need to simultaneously continue to build up the company-based organization in a coordinated manner, as well as to resolve the immediate tasks. With the participation of the labor collectives, the results of the first 6 months should be analyzed, and the possibilities examined for rationalizing internal company structures with a view to fulfilling the new tasks. [passage omitted]

'Rough Calculations' of Current Inflation Made

AU1207105989 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 28, 10 Jul 89 p 4

[Article by Yordan Subev, candidate of economic science: "Inflation: Elementary Calculations"]

[Excerpts] The silence about inflation processes in Bulgaria does not mean that they do not exist. Nor are they eliminated by the fact that the dictionaries and encyclopedias categorically deny their emergence under socialism. Inflation exists throughout the world, even in the most developed countries. Consequently, the issue is not whether inflation exists in Bulgaria, but what its scope is. Under conditions of glasnost there will inevitably come a time when official data on this matter will be published.

While the spirit of Bulgarian inflation is still trapped in the bottle, nothing is left but to rely on rough calculations. In the most elementary meaning of the word, inflation means the decrease in the leva's purchasing power. [passage omitted]

Let us concentrate on the rough calculations. Let us accept the official data, according to which the population's income has increased 2.5 times. If the relative purchasing power of the leva was to have been preserved, the sum total of increased prices should not have surpassed incomes. Everyone knows that the balance has been violated. Prices of foodstuffs, clothing, shoes, communal and everyday services, apartments, durable goods, and so forth, have increased 2 to 8 times, and in some cases even more. No matter how rough the calculation, it appears that the purchasing power of the leva since 1962 (when the last currency reform took place), has decreased 1 to 4 times. On the basis of this, one can draw the perhaps not very precise conclusion that the inflation process in Bulgaria is developing at an annual rate of 2 percent. However, since during a rather long period (until the mid-seventies) the rate of inflation was negligible, and was often close to zero, then it is logical to conclude that at the end of the seventies and afterward a tendency toward a greater increase has emerged. Thus, real inflation in recent years is 7-9 percent. [passage omitted]

Officially, inflation does not exist in our country, and consequently compensation through labor wages is not necessary. However, since the party and state policy is aimed at constantly meeting the increasing needs of the working people, this cannot be done without increasing people's incomes. Therefore, the wages of certain categories of working people have been periodically increased, not because of the inflation processes, but in the name of implementing the strategic policy of the party. However, since there are not enough means to satisfy the needs of all working people, the wage increases have been distributed unequally, giving priority to specific occupations and areas of production in which there is a shortage of manpower. [passage omitted]

Without presenting this as a plea in support of leveling, it would be just to direct a part of the higher income of certain professional groups to those who are socially deprived. There are such cases. Those are retired persons, mothers (and in some cases, fathers) who raise their children alone, and those employees and workers who receive lower wages. [passage omitted]

'Energetika' Chairman Discusses Power Sources

AU1207115989 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 28, 10 Jul 89 pp 1, 14

[Article by Corresponding Member Professor Nikola Todoriev, chairman of the "Energetika" Association: "Electric Power From Water, Coal, or Uranium?"]

[Excerpts] The Bulgarian power supply is developing under conditions of limited domestic energy sources. The supply of mineral fuels is under 200 nominal tonnes of fuel per capita, while the average world rate is 2,000 tonnes. [passage omitted]

Despite these conditions, the development of our country's economy requires much energy. In anything related to per-capita use of energy our country is in place 10-12.

These data show that Bulgaria is among the countries with the highest energy consumption. However, the countries with high energy consumption themselves satisfy the larger part of their energy needs with their own sources. All those states also have a higher income per capita. A large part of the countries with lower energy consumption (except the developing countries), also have a higher per capita income.

The fact that most of the fuel and energy resources are imported to our country is very unfavorable. Practically the entire quantity of oil, natural gas, and high-quality coal is imported. The high price of these resources on the world market swallows a significant part of our exports, which are used to cover the imports of energy resources. [passage omitted]

Instruction No 5 of 19 April 1988, issued by the Council of Ministers, adopts the Program on Developing the Energy Supply Until 2000 as a preliminary planning document. The characteristic factors of the program include the priority development of the supply of electric power on the basis of maximally utilizing the local lower-quality coal and water resources, the rapid construction of the nuclear power supply, expanding the system of district heating, and efficiently and economically utilizing fuels and energy. [passage omitted]

One real possibility of satisfying our energy needs remains, namely, utilizing nuclear energy to meet the energy needs. As is the case with France, Japan, the FRG, and other developing countries with limited domestic energy sources, our country has no other alternative than to develop nuclear energy.

Next year the "Kozloduy" Nuclear Power Station, which now has a capacity of 2,760 megawatts, will obtain another 1,000-megawatt reactor. It is envisaged that 2,000 megawatts of new capacities will be introduced during every future 5-year plan period. [passage omitted]

As far as nuclear safety is concerned, the nuclear reactors that exist in our country and those which will be constructed are of the safest type. Their use is secured by all measures prescribed by the International Atomic Energy Agency, something which precludes accidents and the ensuing leakage of radioactivity in the atmosphere, soil, and water.

Increasing the energy efficiency of our national economy is the main task of our power supply during the next 10-15 years. In this respect we must reach the level of the developed countries.

Increasing the share of our own energy sources is an important task that will decrease our dependence on the world energy market, and which in many cases will increase the ability of our products to compete on the world market.

Article Attacks Law on Citizens' Property

AU1307084389 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 7 Jul 89 p 3

[Article by Senior Scientific Fellow Velko Vulkanov, candidate of legal sciences: "Citizens' Private Property"]

[Text] The right to personal property is undoubtedly one of the citizens' most important rights. It serves to satisfy the citizen's personal needs, and in some cases even guarantees his economic, political, and intellectual independence. A man who possesses his own sources of food may also permit himself to be independent.

The Bulgarian legislators, having assessed the importance of a right that satisfies basic interests, embodied this right in the Constitution itself, thus giving it the status of a basic right.

The Constitution regards the right to personal property as equal to the other three forms of property: state property, cooperative property, and the property of the social organizations. None of these forms of property may develop at the expense of any of the others.

However, what the Constitution offers with two hands, the Law on Citizens' Property takes away with four.

The right to personal property, declared by the Constitution to be a basic right, is reduced by the above law to a third-rate status. The entire law smells of hatred for personal property. I do not think I am mistaken in saying that this was a law not on, but against citizens' property.

The Law on Citizens' Property limited the right to own real estate to a certain, very small amount. It requires that apartments, villas, and plots of land acquired over and above the set amount be seized within a precisely fixed period, while agricultural properties owned in excess of the prescribed amount were simply declared to be state property (which amounted to a tacit nationalization of the land). The law provided for the transfer of

real estate between citizens to be carried out in most cases through the people's councils. The regulation of social relationships connected with citizens' income not derived from labor also crept into the Law on Citizens' property, though this matter fell outside the scope of this law.

Furthermore, it was assumed that the people's councils, by acting as middlemen in the transfer of real estate titles, would also ensure the necessary social justice.

However, have the aims of the Law on Citizens' Property been achieved? The 16 years that the law has been in force allow us to answer categorically in the negative.

The Law on Citizens' Property is based on the erroneous idea that economic problems can be resolved by purely administrative means. Administrative-legal measures might be acknowledged to have some importance, but only as an auxiliary means, and only then for a limited, comparatively short period of time. Speculation in real estate has not been eliminated at all—it has simply adopted more refined forms, which, moreover, are associated with various forms of corruption. No one puts his property up for sale before he has managed to secure a purchaser who will give him the market price, not the price fixed by the people's council. In the business of providing this purchaser, machinations are set in motion that would be capable of passing a camel through the eye of the proverbial needle.

Furthermore, the expectations that residential and other real estate offered for sale would be allocated more equitably through the people's councils were not justified either. First and foremost, the administrative and legal procedure created does not encourage citizens to put up for sale real estate that they do not need. The prices fixed by the people's councils could hardly provide an incentive for this. If a citizen wants to sell only part of his property, then he has to accept as his co-owner or neighbor a person who may be completely unacceptable to him. (Sometimes the issue of who the future co-owner or neighbor is to be is more important than the question of the price.) Nonetheless, properties put up for sale are far from always handed over to those who need them the most.

However, if the positive results from the operation of the Law on Citizens' Property are dubious to say the least, the negative results are more than evident.

The Law on Citizens' Property seriously hindered the solving of one of the most important socioeconomic problems in Bulgaria, namely the housing problem. The law was both a product and the source of the delusion that practically any economic problem may be resolved through the law. It disregarded one of the basic theses of Marx and Engels, namely that "the law in itself provides nothing at all, but merely sanctions the existing relationships" (Volume 2, page 203). The economic solution to the housing problem was naturally not left to one side, but it was primarily handed over to the state, thus compromising both the solving of the problem and the state itself.

The Law on Citizens' Property obstructed the turnover between citizens in the field of civil rights. It deprived this turnover of meaning as an economic factor and created extraordinary complications in relations between citizens. The legality of thousands of sale transactions was made questionable. Lawyers were feverishly sought to settle the problems that arose. In some cases they were successful, in others not, and then furious comments were heard from both parties to the relevant legal transaction, directed not so much against each other as against the supreme organizer of this property rights mix-up, namely the Law on Citizens' Property.

The Law on Citizens' Property seriously violated citizens' wishes and interests, forcing them to enter into inappropriate personal relationships. In order to preserve their property, husbands and wives divorced one another, and serious personal relationships failed to develop into marriage, so as not to lose one of the two apartments. Minors and babes in arms became property owners, properties were transferred to close relatives, legal letters were exchanged, and so on, so that a kind of "black" right developed, a right with a false bottom in which truth and falsehood were so intertwined that they became indistinguishable from one another.

Legally speaking, the Law on Citizens' Property is extremely hard for citizens to understand. It is a real puzzle. Drafted in a casuistic manner and with its regulations expanded to the point of pedantry, it leads citizens into real labyrinths. Even the well-trained lawyer cannot always manage to find the path to the exit.

The Law on Citizens' Property does not satisfy the citizens' sense of justice either. Its restrictions appeared to act solely against the economically weak, and people lacking official connections. Thousands of people still have no roof over their heads, while others are already providing apartments, villas, and building plots for third- and fourth-generation members of their families.

The Law on Citizens' Property created an oppressive moral and psychological situation in relationships not only between citizens, but also between citizens and the state. It is undoubtedly one of the most unpopular legislative acts in Bulgaria. One might say that the entire essence of the command-administrative system of management of social relations manifested itself precisely in this law. Thus, the state came into unnecessary conflict with its own citizens, a conflict in which it is the loser every day. The violation of freedom of will, especially if it is without economic foundation, always produces results that are the opposite of those intended.

The Law on Citizens' Property opened up the opportunity for corruption to enter the system of the people's councils. People with insufficiently high moral principles find it difficult to resist the powerful pressure of interests connected with real estate, but corruption is a far more serious social disease than speculation.

In the conditions of the new economic policy the Law on Citizens' Property is already showing itself to be a real anachronism. It is incompatible with the intentions to impart economic vitality to every citizens' initiative. It will continuously sabotage the attempt to get the wheel of our economic life turning normally, and will be a lasting hindrance to development of the forces of production.

Everything leads to the conclusion that the Law on Citizens' Property must either be repealed in its entirety (while adding certain clauses to the 1951 Law on Property) or totally reorganized.

The body of law regulating citizens' property should be built up on the following few basic premises:

1. Citizens may own all means of consumption, except for those explicitly prohibited by the law.

The range of means of consumption that citizens may own should exclude firearms, narcotics, strong-acting poisons, and so on. Ownership of apartments, villas, and building plots intended to met the consumer needs of citizens and members of their families should be permitted without restriction. (Naturally, this does not mean that in the conditions of the still existing housing crisis they will be able to purchase housing without limit for subsequent renting out.)

2. Citizens may own only the means of production that they are explicitly permitted to own. This principle is aimed against the possibility of citizens' owning means of production that involve the exploitation of others' labor.

The Decree on Economic Activity and the Decree on the Use of Land and Implementing Agricultural Activity introduced certain exceptions to this principle. One should regard it as permissible for citizens to own means of production that may be applied by using the labor of ten hired workers (or an unlimited number of workers in the case of seasonal work).

The land requires special attention. Every citizen should be able to own a certain amount of land to satisfy his own agricultural needs and to produce agricultural products for the market. There should be no restrictions on taking over land on lease—everyone should be able to rent as much land as he and the members of his family are able to cultivate. The legal regulations in this case should also have the special task of restoring the Bulgarian's age-old love for the land.

3. The transfer of an ownership right to real estate of movable property to other citizens should be carried out directly by the citizens themselves. The transfer of ownership rights and other property rights relating to real estate should continue, as previously, to be made in notarial form.

4. The most rigorous guarantees possible should be created for the right to personal property, especially the personal property right to real estate. It should be made impossible to seize citizens' properties in order to meet certain group interests, by acting in the guise of satisfying social interests.

Confiscations and various other forms of seizures of property for the benefit of the state should only be possible in the case of serious property crimes.

FRG's Genscher Begins Consultations in Prague

Meets With Johanes, Adamec

LD1207132489 Hamburg DPA in German
1240 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher began 2 days of consultations in Prague on Wednesday with a full exchange of views with his Czechoslovak counterpart Jaromir Johanes.

During the talk, Johanes briefed Genscher on the Warsaw Pact summit in Bucharest. Genscher told his host about NATO's ideas on conventional disarmament in Europe. Both sides welcomed the latest progress on disarmament.

The ministers devoted a lot of time to bilateral relations, joint efforts to improve the environment, and the expansion of economic, cultural and tourist contacts. Genscher urged the opening of a further frontier crossing-point near Waldsassen.

The subsequent talk with CSSR Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec was devoted primarily to bilateral issues, particularly environmental protection.

CTK Reports Genscher Talks

LD1207152289 Prague CTK in English
1358 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 12 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes met with his West German colleague Hans-Dietrich Genscher for a roughly 50-minute long tete-a-tete talk today.

Later on the two ministers continued talks in the presence of delegations, during which they exchanged views on the current state and possibilities of further development of Czechoslovak-West German relations. The ministers discussed in detail the present international situation.

Minister Genscher's visit to Czechoslovakia takes place in the framework of regular annual meetings of the foreign ministers of the two countries, provided for by the joint declaration signed during President Gustav Husak's visit to the FRG in April 1978.

During talks with visiting West German vice-chancellor and foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes reiterated Czechoslovakia's request for the extradition of two Czechoslovak nationals who hijacked a Hungarian plane to West Germany in March.

Minister Johanes stressed that their speedy extradition is in the interest of the common struggle against terrorism. He also asked for effective assistance of West German authorities in returning Lukas Veltruksy, a minor kidnapped to the FRG. He pressed the Czechoslovak request for startig court proceedings against war criminal A. Malloth in the FRG and underlined the need to improve conditions for issuing West German visas to Czechoslovak citizens.

On the case of the Hungarian plane hijack, Minister Genscher said court proceedings were currently going on to decide whether the hijackers will be extradited or sentenced in the FRG. Of Czechoslovakia's request for help in the case of the kidnapped boy, Hans-Dietrich Genscher assured his colleague that authorities will act in keeping with legal norms.

Minister Johanes went on to say that bilateral relations were on a good level. A number of agreements, expected to form a solid foundation for expanding contacts and cooperation at all levels, is being prepared, he said.

In an extensive exchange of opinions on the international situation, the two sides welcomed the improvement in East-West relations and the easing of tension in the world.

They spoke positively of developments in Europe, welcomed progress in implementing the conclusions of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting in the military, economic, ecological and humanitarian spheres. They noted with satisfaction the development of bilateral cooperation in Europe, which they see as an important part of building a common European home. In this context the two ministers appreciated the results of the visit by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to the FRG.

They agreed that tangible results could be achieved in a relatively short time at the Vienna talks on conventional disarmament in Europe. Czechoslovakia and the FRG believe it is important to discuss the issue of military doctrines.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher informed his counterpart of the main results of the recent NATO summit meeting in Brussels, concerning East-West relations.

Briefing his guest about the results of the Bucharest meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political consultative committee, Jaromir Johanes said its participants welcomed some conclusions of the NATO session but at the same time he pointed out that the conclusions contain also certian elements that are out of tune with the requests of time. He underlined the need to settle the question of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe by opening independent talks, as proposed by the Warsaw Treaty states. Minister Johanes stressed the support given to Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals, presented in Strasbourg, by the Political Consultative Committee. He emphasized the importance of carrying out these proposals both for Czechoslovakia and the FRG, situated in the area of greatest concentration of weapons in the world. Minister

Johanes also pointed out the topical character of Czechoslovak and GDR proposals for forming a corridor free of nuclear weapons and a zone free of chemical weapons in central Europe.

Minister Johanes appreciated the presence of the FRG at the conference of government members of seven central European countries on environmental protection, held in Prague at the end of May.

Johanes Honors Genscher at Dinner

LD1307043989 Prague CTK in English 2013 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 12 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes gave here today an official dinner in honour of West German vice-chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Jaromir Johanes stated in his speech that dynamic development of European politics and the qualitatively improved infrastructure of security, stability and cooperation which is being formed is of exceptional importance both for Czechoslovakia and West Germany—countries in the centre of Europe. "In Europe, more so than in other places, we realize that it is ever more difficult to achieve national goals of social and economic development without wide international cooperation", he stressed.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher stressed in his speech that the West German Government is prepared to pursue the path of constructive cooperation with Czechoslovakia. Changes under way in Europe at present create favourable conditions for dialogue and cooperation. "We must make use of the historic chance for the forming of a permanent peace establishment in Europe", the West German foreign minister said.

He also pointed out that these changes must be used for further disarmament steps.

Genscher Highlights Human Rights

LD1207210189 Hamburg DPA in German 1742 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Prague (DPA)—Under the sign of the will for good-neighborliness, stated by both sides, talks between Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his host, CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes, were held on Wednesday in Prague. [passage omitted]

Genscher also met on Wednesday in Prague with Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek and the renowned civil rights campaigner and dramatist Vaclav Havel.

During a dinner which Johanes hosted in honor of Genscher, the federal foreign minister underlined the fact that both countries are "on the right path" in their relations. He demanded the opening of as large a number as possible of border crossings on the common border.

"No one can maintain that he possesses the sole truths. No state, no society, no person, and no ideology either. Human rights are increasingly becoming the yardstick of the European identity," Genscher stressed. [passage omitted]

Adamec Receives Genscher

LD1207171589 Prague CTK in English 1518 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 12 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec received here today West German Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The two representatives exchanged opinions on further possibilities of developing cooperation between the Federal Republic of Germany and Czechoslovakia, paying special attention to the sphere of economy. In an extensive and open discussion, Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec explained to Hans-Dietrich Genscher the essence of political and economic restructuring in Czechoslovakia and pointed to the risks that this complicated internal political development carries.

The premier stressed the inseparable union of political and economic reforms as well as the government's effort to make use of relatively favourable conditions in Czechoslovakia for the transition to new ways of management. He also pointed out the very good possibilities for promoting Czechoslovak-West German cooperation, which Czechoslovakia is not always capable of exploiting.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher underlined the common interests and the common responsibility of the two countries ensuing from neighbourhood in Europe. The Federal Republic of Germany favours a stable development in central Europe, it is not interested in a destabilization of the situation and is not pursuing such a policy, he said.

The two politicians agreed on the need for common protection of the environment in central Europe, benefited by the recent meeting of responsible ministers of countries neighbouring on Czechoslovakia.

Ladislav Adamec thanked for an invitation to visit the FRG.

Genscher Meets With Jiri Hajek

LD1307081389 Hamburg DPA in German 0704 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Prague (DPA)—Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who has been in Prague since yesterday, today met with the prominent civil rights campaigner, Jiri Hajek, at the beginning of the 2d and final day of his working visit. Hajek, aged 76, was foreign minister in the time of the "Prague Spring" and is one of the leading members of the civil rights movement in the CSSR.

In 1977 Hajek was the first to sign the "Charter 77" civil rights manifesto. Last week his passport was confiscated, after he had taken part in the Socialist International meeting during a private visit to Scandinavia. According to the official justification, this was "incompatible with the interests of the CSSR." [passage omitted]

Genscher Meets With Jakes, Husak

LD1307110589 Hamburg DPA in German 1039 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher today met the general secretary of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, Milos Jakes, and CSSR State President Gustav Husak, in Prague. Relations between Bonn and Prague were described as intensive, open and constructive. Genscher also visited Jiri Hajek, CSSR foreign minister during the Prague Spring of 1968 which ended in violence.

At the beginning of his 2-day visit to the CSSR yesterday, Genscher had called upon the Prague government to follow the "positive developments" in neighboring socialist countries. The Bonn minister also referred to the fact that the Federal Government considered human rights to be an "indispensable basis for cooperation between East and West."

Adamec, Nemeth Talks in Bucharest Reported

AU1107203189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Jul 89 p 6

["(VE)"-signed report: "Concerning Czechoslovak-Hungarian Discussions in Bucharest"]

[Text] Budapest (From our permanent editor)—After returning from the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference in Bucharest, Miklos Nemeth, the Hungarian premier, gave an interview to the Sunday newspaper VASARNAPI HIREK. In it he talked about his discussion with Ladislav Adamec, the CSSR premier. They considered several issues of cooperation between both countries in the industry, agriculture, and scientific-technical spheres. They agreed that relations will intensify in cultural and national issues. M. Nemeth recommended that meetings between writers, historians, ethnographers, joint television programs, and more frequent tours by ensembles be organized. They also spoke about the construction of the Nagymaros section of the Danube dam project. The Czechoslovak representative is still fully in favor of completing the project, and he considers the worst thing of all to be long-term uncertainty, therefore, he has asked the Hungarian side for a definitive decision. L. Adamec will arrive in Budapest in the second half of July for a clarification of this issue.

Hungarian Arguments on Water Project Rejected

AU1207121189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jul 89 p 4

[Engineer Magdalena Srncova article: "Are the Water Projects on the Danube Threatened by Earthquakes?"]

[Excerpts] One of the arguments which is supposed to justify the Hungarian Government's decision to suspend construction of the Nagymaros water project is the issue of seismicity in the region surrounding the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam system. What is the scientific view of the possible threat of earthquakes? [passage omitted]

From all the scientific data, calculations, and analyses it arises that, from the very beginning of preparations to utilize the Danube, great attention has been devoted to the question of seismicity. Therefore, claims about "new" aspects in the seismicity sphere during the construction of Gabcikovo or Nagymaros do not stand up. Neither the geological conditions of our planet nor our knowledge about them have changed from one parliamentary session to another. In many respects we like to refer to the more advanced countries in the world. In this case, why do we not take Japan as an example, a country which cannot be denied one of the first places in the world in the sphere of science and technology? Having said that, it is impossible to avoid the fact that Japan has 40 active and around 170 extinct or semi-active volcanoes. Nevertheless, in that country they are building tunnels under the sea, skyscrapers, television transmitters, and so on. It is obvious that they look upon their seismicity objectively and that they adapt themselves to it while constructing technological projects. However, it is less clear why someone wants to overestimate it under our conditions. Should our seismicity only be a pseudonym for passing the buck and an unwillingness to finish something that has already been started?

Adamec Discusses Environmental Problems, Pact

LD0107220789 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Press conference by Premier Ladislav Adamec by unidentified Czechoslovak journalists in Wroclaw, Poland on 1 July—recorded]

[Text] [Adamec] Today we have signed an agreement on future cooperation on dealing with environmental problems. We must realize that signing the agreement in effect ushers in serious problems. We make no secret of the fact that in the border areas we have a whole number of sources that pollute the environment, thereby complicating life, not only for us, but also for our neighbors. We signed an agreement; this means we want to fulfil it and do not want to become a side that does not fulfil it. This will require a much more serious approach on our part. This will require our devoting much greater attention to the existing measures to which we have become accustomed.

In effect, signing this agreement is a continuation of the activity we have been carrying out in the area of improving the environment. At the end of May last year, we incited all neighboring states to Prague, at our government's initiative. The meeting was attended by ministers from all these governments. A good program was drawn up which means, in effect, another concrete continuation of the joint endeavor because it was directly confirmed at that meeting that one cannot work in isolation where environmental issues are concerned. It is necessary to work in the broadest possible range and, in practice, with all neighboring countries. At that meeting it was also agreed that, should the need arise, the prime ministers would meet to consider other issues so as to mold that program into a concrete shape.

Last week, I had the opportunity to attend a National Front meeting and to hear how representatives of individual political parties, as well as interest-based organizations, had prepared their actions. This was very gratifying and I would like to thank all these organizations for their initiative. We can achieve results in this area because our party is devoting great attention to environmental issues. A special CPCZ Central Committee session will be held in the autumn of this year to deal with the problem of the environment and ecology. Therefore, I believe that there exist all prerequistes for us to be able to carry out a certain amount of work.

Various questions frenquently are raised as to whether this problem is not too general, whether we are not merely indulging in idle talk, and whether something specific is being done. Allow me a few answers to these questions.

I think that the Czechoslovak republic no longer approaches this problem empty-handed. By curbing military production we are creating certain reserves in the capacity of our engineering sector and we will use these reserves by orienting ourselves toward ecological engineering. We have asked both the GDR and the Polish Republic to engage in a close cooperation with us, and we even call on Western countries to do the same because we think they possess certain technologies that are of a decent standard so as to be able together to make a firm step forward in joint production and setting up joint enterprises.

This is the first such matter. We also are asked whether we have the money to fund these actions. I would like to say that our government counts on such resources, but unfortunately I am bound to say that the resources earmarked for the eighth 5-Year Plan are far from being drawn on. We in the government have dealt with these questions very seriously and we have to take special measures to insure that the maximum is done during the second half of the current year and that next year the 17 billion kopecs earmarked for environmental purposes are invested to good purpose. Therefore, no barriers exist with which we cannot cope.

There is another fact I would like to mention, which is the thinking of our people. All states, including Czechoslovakia, are striving to achieve maximal effectiveness in the development of their respective national economies. However, effectiveness cannot be secured to the detriment of the environment, although such attitudes used to exist. We have in our socialist program the principle that everything we do is for the satisfaction and health of man. We cannot tolerate dirty water, bad air, and things that are harmful to the health of man. We must go back to those matters to insure that effectiveness is not harmed by ecology and, vice-versa, that ecology is not harmed by effectiveness.

[Reporter] Comrade Prime Minister, you recalled that the protection of the environment would call for no small capital investment. Where, specifically, will this capital investment be channeled?

[Adamec] We contemplated the figure of 17 billion kopecs for the current 5-Year Plan, and I have said already that we have not exhausted this sum yet. We regard it as correct to increase this sum in the next 5-year period. We want to invest it in gasification, in the first place, but we also must invest it in new technology because today we are able to manufacture equipment for cleaning water, and I believe that there are too many waters in our country which, regretably, are justifiably criticized for their quality. Therefore, the key element in such investment must go to water management so as to insure as many clean waters as possible. We also must invest in the problem of environmental dust. We also want to restrict coal mining in certain areas and burn gas instead, so that we will not have either to mine or burn coal, with its enormous sulphur dioxide content. In other words, resources will be invested in technology, overwhelmingly in engineering, and I believe that a program is ready and already available today in regions and even in districts. Of course, industrial enterprises, unified agricultural cooperatives, and state farms, as well as those organizations that still are standing on the sidelines and—so to speak—innocently causing a great deal of harm to the environment, must get involved.

In conclusion, I would like to remark that the agreement we have signed today is, in fact, a great obligation. For us it will be a kind of a test of how we discharge all the obligations we have signed today. I am saying responsibly that this will not be easy because in our mentality a number of leading economic officials have sometimes ignored environmental problems a bit and have thought that the decisive criterium was the fulfilment of the plan, thereby, unfortunately, underestimating man's health and contented life just a little. In other words, I would not like one day to become the side that fails to fulfil the agreement concluded today and I hope that all of us understand this and that our society and our people expect results from us.

Deputy Premier Zak Pays Working Visit to PRC

LD1207145189 Prague CTK in English 1024 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 11 (CTK correspondent) [dateline as received]—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Jaromir Zak arrived here Tuesday for a working visit to China at the invitation of his Chinese counterpart Yao Yilin.

The two sides will open official talks later today to exchange experience from economy and planning and discuss possibilities of further development of economic cooperation between China and Czechoslovakia.

Polish 'Disenchantment' at Bush Aid Offer Noted

AU1307101389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Jul 89 p 5

[Pavol Minarik commentary: "Expectations and Reality"]

[Text] American President George Bush concluded his visit to Poland only a few hours ago, but it is possible to talk about its results now. Considering the complicated economic situation in which the Polish People's Republic finds itself, it was known before the visit that during its course special significance would be given mainly to economic and financial issues. Therefore Bush traveled to Warsaw with a prepared, six-point aid plan which, according to him, should help Poland to carry out economic and political changes. Does this plan live up to Polish expectations? From the first reactions in Poland and also from the foreign, particularly the Western, press, it arises that the answer is no. Let us recall that even during the first day of the visit voices could be heard in Warsaw that the Polish economy needs billions of dollars to implement the reform process. Economists from the ranks of the Solidarity opposition pinpointed this sum at $10 billion. "However, all those who believed that the American guest would open a safe containing billions of dollars had to suffer a disappointment," wrote the Polish daily newspapers after the American President had announced that the United States plans to set up a fund amounting to $100 million. This should exclusively support the development of the private sector in Poland in the future. However, this proposal will still have to be approved by the American Congress. In the same conditional clause even more words were heard from Bush that Washington is requesting that the World Bank make available a loan of $325 million, and also that he will have a word with Poland's Western creditors about postponing repayments of $5 billion for a longer period.

However, let us remember that overall Polish indebtedness in the West represents $39 billion. But the losses alone which the policy of restrictions and embargoes inflicted upon Poland, a policy announced by the United states against this country after the well-known events at the end of 1981, have reached $15 billion. In view of the facts which Bush presented in Warsaw, there can be no talk about any kind of reimbursement or compensation. Disenchantment with the minimal American aid was prevalent, first and foremost, in Solidarity circles. During the early 1980's they stood firmly on the side of anti-Polish embargoes and sanctions. Even before this, by organizing strikes and blocking Polish exports they themselves significantly brought about a growth in Polish debt. Today, when they are demanding help for their country in which political and economic reforms are taking place, it is as if the American President has not heard their voice.

Even this modest financial aid which Bush has promised is intended to support mainly the ideals and values which the United States espouses. In particular, it involves support for the private sector and political pluralism. However, as Bush himself emphasized several times, Poland will itself have to cope with the main thing that remains.

West Attempting 'To Change Socialist System'

AU1307114889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jul 89 p 2

[Milos Krejci reply to a reader's letter in the "Readers Ask" column: "Are They Really Not Preparing To Change the System?"]

[Text] I do not agree that someone is preparing to overthrow our social system. That is only your propaganda, the purpose of which is to give you a pretext to attack the Western countries and the defenders of human rights in Czechoslovakia.... (from a letter by a reader from Bratislava)

Saying that even now there have been attempts to change the socialist system is neither propaganda nor does it need it any other motivation. It is, as they say in America, "a fact of life."

It is enough to read the statements of the American President prior to his visit to Poland and Hungary. He said that these countries will receive the assistance they deserve in accordance with how the "privatization proceeds" there, and to the extent that they "open up to the West." Or, it is enough to acquaint oneself with an anti-Yugoslav paragraph in the Law on Foreign Assistance adopted by the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress in connection with alleged human rights' violations.

Old stereotypes are being revived, stereotypes that declare Marxism "dead," and articles and books on the "fiasco of communism" are cropping up. The natural objective of this ideological attack are the socialist states.

What is involved is not a new policy, but a new variant of American messianism, which is the traditional characteristic of the ideology of the U.S. ruling circles. Typical of this trend was a speech by George Shultz, former U.S. secretary of state, in San Francisco in 1985. Shultz developed ideas voiced by President Reagan, and

declared that the United States has the mission to be the "leader of the free world. " In other words, it feels justified in telling nations what they are "allowed to do" and what they are "not allowed to do." Such geopolitical ideas should no longer exist in today's interrelated world.

In his speech in Strasbourg last week, M. Gorbachev considered it necessary to say: "The difficulty, however, lies rather in something else—in the considerably widespread conviction (and also in the 'political concept') that in order to overcome the division of Europe 'socialism' has to be 'overcome.' That, however, is the course on confrontation, if not something even worse.... Any interference in internal affairs, any attempt to curtail the sovereignty of states—be it friends and allies, or any other state—is impermissible."

The world community is undergoing profound changes. New factors of progress are coming into being. An understanding of new realities is being born. East and West have reached an understanding on numerous issues. Many representatives of the Western countries do not ignore the danger of nuclear war, and peace initiatives have been positively received. The international situation has improved.

But—has the decisive turn already occurred? Can the return to cold war and the danger of military encounter already be discounted?

Have the sources of aggression and war disappeared? No, they have not. Militarism still endangers peace. Have monopolies and supranational companies disappeared from the world? Positive processes have been initiated, but there still are no guarantees that they are irreversible.

Whereas the focus of the relations between capitalism and socialism is shifting from confrontation to cooperation, the ideological struggle outside the interstate relations continues, and in some cases it even becomes sharper. It is necessary to exclude from it forms that undermine trust and relations among states. This means excluding from it ideological war and all forms of subversion, the objective of which is to destabilize the situation in the socialist states and provoke counterrevolution.

TASS Cited on Reaction to Charter 77 Action

LD1207135689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] The Soviet agency TASS wrote today about the unfavorable reaction of Czechoslovak working people to another attempt by members of Charter 77 and other illegal groups to push Czechoslovak leadership into discussion of a wide scale of issues, from the development of the economy to the observance of human rights.

TASS notes that the main points of this discussion have been summarized in the Several Sentences appeal which was broadcast recently by Radio Free Europe and Voice of America. It says that collectives and individuals, in letters to the Czechoslovak media, condemn the effort to destabilize the situation in Czechoslovakia and cause political, economic and morale damage to the Republic.

Editorial Assesses Pact Bucharest Conference

AU1207114389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jul 89 p 1

[Editorial: "From the Position of Peace"]

[Text] The Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states met in Bucharest last week in the midst of the process of changes occurring on the international scene. It assessed the topical European and world problems and determined the tasks of the further developing and improving the cooperation among the socialist countries under the new conditions that have come into being in the world and, in particular, in Europe.

What, then, does the present look like? In what do the allied countries see the guarantee for the continued relaxation of tension and, on the other hand, who holds back or even imperils this positive development? To what extent can we consider the changes in international politics as lasting, and in what way can the allied states contribute to their being asserted more forcefully? How is one to interpret the process of renewal in our community, what are its strong points and what are its weak spots? These are the fundamental questions, and without answers to them it is difficult to assess the current situation and stake out the road leading forward.

Both the NATO summit in May and the Bucharest meeting have noted positive changes in the international situation, the continuation of the Helsinki process, and the gradual creation of trust among states. All that can be depicted as an important factor of the present, even though notions are not always interpreted identically. There is no doubt that on both sides the intensity of political confrontation has diminished, that tones attesting to the establishment of normal relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and between CEMA and the EEC, are heard more frequently.

On the other hand, it is impossible to overlook the fact that despite the concrete disarmament steps, the number and the quality of weapons are increasing, including weapons that can be deployed in space. This means that the fundamental turn in disarmament has not occurred yet. NATO's effort to continue its policy from the position of strength and practicing the strategy of containment, as noted by the Bucharest document For a Stable and Secure Europe, Free From Nuclear and Chemical Weapons, For a Significant Reduction of Armed Forces, Arms, and Military Expenditure, must necessarily give rise to concern.

Despite the scrapping of the Soviet and American intermediate- and shorter-range missiles; despite the unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces of the socialist states,

including Czechoslovakia; despite the proven measures aimed at increasing mutual trust, as decreed by the Stockholm Conference; despite the curtailment of arms production in the socialist countries; the NATO countries and, above all, certain circles in the United States have not arrived at the fundamental decision to change the military doctrine. As long as NATO sticks to the principle of policy from the position of strength, and as long as it considers the strategy of nuclear containment (to be understood as containment of socialism) to be of decisive importance for maintaining peace, it will be impossible to take the crucial step in disarmament—to rid the world of nuclear weapons.

Despite all the changes under way in the world, the United States refuses to abandon the strategy of nuclear containment and today, just as yesterday, it substantiates this with the Warsaw Pact's superiority in conventional weapons. The data published in January on the number of armed forces and the quantity of the main types of Warsaw Pact and NATO weapons, reveal that the Warsaw Pact countries have superiority in tanks, tactical missiles (range up to 500 km), artillery, and armored vehicles, but NATO has superiority in aircraft, helicopters, antimissile equipment, and naval forces. The socialist states are in favor of eliminating asymmetry and have been taking some unilateral steps in that respect. The Vienna talks are another opportunity to completely eliminate the superiority of one pact over the other as regards conventional weapons.

Tactical missiles remain the bone of contention of a fundamental nuclear disarmament. At the NATO meeting in May, the United States manifested its willingness to negotiate the reduction of their numbers provided that the first disarmament agreement will be reached in Vienna soon. Such a possibility realistically exists, and thus the talks on tactical missiles could begin. However, the United States refuses the total elimination of that type of armament as being the final objective of the talks. At the same time, the USSR is ready—in case talks begin—to further unilaterally reduce the number of its missiles, and at the same time has decided to unilaterally withdraw 500 combat charges [naloze] from the territories of its allies. It also is willing to remove all nuclear ammunition from that area in 1989-91, if the United States will do the same.

The Soviet steps should make the American side to do some serious thinking. The elimination of asymmetry, the USSR's readiness to scrap tactical missiles and, above all, the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine organizing military units solely for defensive purposes disprove any reasons given for insisting on nuclear containment. The majority of the western European countries realize this. Public opinion in those countries demands drawing the corresponding conclusions from this, because a stubborn insistence on an unrealistic assessment of the situation is dangerous.

It would be harmful for Europe not to make use of the opportunity which offers itself to eliminate an entire class of tactical nuclear missiles. This demand is not the driving of a wedge between the United States and its allies, as the rightist press has been trying to paint it. This press should rather answer the question against whom, or for whose defense, are these weapons to remain in Europe, when it is possible to do without them.

All this concerns Czechoslovakia directly; we are vitally interested in seeing all nuclear devices as well as chemical weapons scrapped. Therefore, we support all proposals that would help to transform a Europe of confrontation into a Europe of cooperation. This is the purpose of the initiatives aimed at establishing zones without nuclear and chemical weapons in central, southern, and northern Europe, this is why Czechoslovakia has been proposing the establishment of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the two groupings.

Bucharest has also indicated other roads to a Europe of cooperation—by expanding mutually advantageous economic and scientific-technical cooperation; by eliminating artificial obstacles which hinder trade; by jointly approaching the protection of the environment; by showing understanding when resolving humanitarian issues; and by implementing the sum of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In the present-day world the importance of the links between domestic and foreign policy, between the development of socialism in each socialist country and the course of the community has been increasing. In connection with the changes in the individual states the important thing is to secure the permanent dynamics of the political and economic system, deepen democracy, and raise the standard of living. In doing this, each country proceeds from its traditions, conditions, and possibilities, it can rely on the experience of others and decide whether and in what way it will make use of them. And herein also lies the essence of the creative process of building socialism, herein is hidden the responsibility of a country and its leading political force, because a universal model for a new social order does not exist. The awareness of joint responsibility and the conviction about the force of the ideas of socialism create the prerequisites for finding a common political platform vis-a-vis the rest of the world, as the two documents adopted in Bucharest state. In those documents the Warsaw Pact member states have acknowledged their share of responsibility for developments in Europe and in the world. They are also prepared to act in this way in the future—not from the position of strength, but from the position of peace. They are convinced that the impending possibility of going over from the senseless competition among states to peaceful cooperation can be translated into reality.

Government-Trade Union Session Discusses Wages
AU1107110189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jul 89 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Concerning Wages and the Environment; Session of the CSSR Government Presidium and the Central Trade Union Council Secretariat"]

[Text] Prague—A further round of discussions between the CSSR Government Presidium and the Central Trade Union Council [URO] Secretariat took place on Thursday [6 July] in Prague. The members of the two bodies discussed the implementation of the conclusions of the joint session that took place in December 1988, an analysis of wage policy, with proposals for measures to strengthen the merit principle and simplify the special payment system, draft principles to rectify the provision of wage preferences, and the CSSR Government's directive on collective agreements. Also on the agenda were the conclusions of the eighth URO plenary meeting. Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, made a speech at the beginning of the meeting. He devoted particular attention to the experience gained in guaranteeing the conclusions of the Nationwide All-Union Conference. He said that a system of regular, specific, and effective cooperation is gradually being put into practice. We are learning to harmonize our points of view while considering the important issues of social policy. However, a united policy along the government and URO line does not mean that the different status and specifications of work style are being overlooked. The issue involves an even broader exchange of views and experience and the strengthening of the mutual flow of information.

The CSSR premier appreciated that the search for bilaterally acceptable starting points is at least bringing partial results. The proposals under preparation indicate that state and trade union organs are managing to find a common language. This will not come about automatically or easily but will come about in discussions in which points of view are compared and on the basis of clarifying problems.

While reviewing the results, Ladislav Adamec mentioned the fundamental issues—wages and price policy, the standard of supplies for the domestic market, and the state of public mass transportation. These issues are very important and, at the same time, extraordinarily sensitive, he emphasized. It is impossible to achieve fundamental changes here from one week to the next or from one month to the next, no matter how much we all wish this. It is possible to rectify the situation in these long neglected sectors only gradually, step by step, in accordance with the conditions that have been created. He stressed that this cannot excuse the slow pace in some spheres, the manifestations of dilatoriness, indolence, or inflexibility. The government itself bitterly criticizes such phenomena, whether they are in departments or in enterprises.

He said that despite many difficulties it is possible to record definite progress. There has been success in halting the deterioration of the state of public transport to work and a definite improvement has taken place. Definite decisions have also been made to resolve other problems. However, he stressed, we are not concealing the fact that in practice this is not leading to positive changes at the workplace. We do not underrate the work of specialists on the appropriate documents. On the contrary, we are striving to ensure that these documents are of a higher quality, conceptuality, and comprehensive nature. However, the government is aware of the fact that trade unionists and the general public do not evaluate its work according to the number of resolutions and declared intentions. They demand real results, real movement forward, and facts. It is our common duty not to disappoint their expectations. The basic prerequisite for the success of restructuring lies in the people's trust in the veracity and honesty of our intentions and in our ability to consistently bring our resolutions to life.

Miroslav Zavadil, URO chairman, stressed a reciprocal interest in cooperation and the unification of forces and policy in the interest of fulfilling the socioeconomic development plan, which has the aim of achieving satisfaction for the working people. Thus, for our part, he said, we are fulfilling the task, that the Nationwide All-Union Conference gave us of ensuring that constructive discussions with the government during the restructuring process and under the influence of the government statement take on a new and qualitatively better appearance. He pointed out that the results which have been achieved after joint discussions are vital and, in this respect, he appraised the definite positive shift.

He stated that the Federal Government and its ministries are dealing with suggestions from the Nationwide All-Union Conference and that the appropriate ministries have drafted a program of tasks which it is necessary to resolve jointly. This, however, is no reason for self-satisfaction. There are many problems that were raised at the Nationwide All-Union Conference and which are still subject to justified criticism from the general public. Also, the fulfillment of the series of tasks which arose out of the government statement, and to which we gave our full support, is not at the requisite level, for example, in health care. This must not only disturb us but, first and foremost, it must impel us to take appropriate and more determined steps. This concerns, particularly acutely, shortcomings in the smooth organization of production, in creating conditions for good work, in misunderstanding or violating some principles of the law on the state enterprise, and, similarly, it concerns serious shortcomings in respect of the domestic market and services. This requires us to consider the results of our joint work much more critically and with greater urgency. We cannot be satisfied with simply raising and discussing problems, the URO chairman underlined. Today we will not get by with a frank assessment, no matter how sharply formulated. Solutions are vital—and the people are waiting for them. More and more they are demanding a fair appraisal of results and that conclusions be drawn from irresponsibility and laziness.

He announced that from this point of view, of course, the trade unions are not denying their share of responsibility. They also agree with the critical view that trade union organizations and organs should be much more active, as was expressed at the 14th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee session. It is impossible to imagine a subsequent solution without the initiative and activity of the working collectives and trade union organizations, which are oriented toward fulfilling the tasks of the state plan as a prerequisite for achieving the contentment of the people and trust in our policy. In this context, Miroslav Zavadil referred to the significance of the forthcoming regular biannual Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] conferences and meetings to review the plan's implementation, socialist undertakings, and collective agreements. He pointed out the justified demands of the working collectives, which are awaiting more effective assistance from the center.

He again expressed the point of view that ROH has its own independent and sovereign status and that it is not subordinate to the state or the government. The trade unions are obliged to utilize their legal rights and opportunities in the center, in each factory and plant, rights leading to active participation in the administration and management of society, including opportunities to become involved in the preparation of new laws. The fact that this is true is borne out by the recent participation by ROH in the preparation for the law on the state enterprise and the amendments to the labor code, the URO chairman emphasized in conclusion.

The members of the Government Presidium and the URO Secretariat discussed an analysis of wage policy with proposals for measures to strengthen the merit principle and simplify the special payment system. Later they discussed draft principles to rectify the provision of wage preferences, the CSSR Government directive on collective agreements, and a report on the conclusions of the eighth URO plenary meeting on health care for the working people and on the environment.

The CSSR premier stated in conclusion that the meeting had been useful and had put forward several ideas for the further development of mutual cooperation. He said that besides the forms of cooperation to date, it would be beneficial to set up joint external sessions to consider specific problems—the environment, health care, and so on. This would contribute to an even more thorough and concrete view of the issues under discussion. The URO chairman, who also described the meeting as constructive, expressed his agreement with this proposal on behalf of the URO Secretariat.

Communique on the Meeting

A communique was adopted at the joint session which says, among other things:

From a review of the implementation of the conclusions of the previous joint session between the CSSR Government and the URO Presidium it transpired that the CSSR Government has discussed and adopted measures to resolve practical problems which were highlighted by the Nationwide All-Union Conference and which were included in the Government's work plan for the first half of this year. These involve, for example, the principles of the CSSR Government directive on increasing special bonuses for miners, short-term measures to ease the tension on the domestic market in 1989 (the CSSR Government will discuss the basic measures during the third quarter of this year), principles for the development of brigades of socialist work under the new economic conditions, measures to improve safety and health protection at work, and individual measures to improve employees' transportation to work.

With Resolution No 345 of 21 December 1988, the CSSR Government adopted a measure to improve public transportation. It contains the task of ensuring in 1989 the delivery of 3,079 buses for public transportation, of which 2,047 buses are for the Czech Socialist Republic [CSR] and 1,032 for the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR]; of ensuring in 1990 the delivery of 3,079 buses—2,047 for the CSR and 1,032 for the [figures for both years the same as published] SSR; and, out of additional production, to preferentially cover the shortfalls in deliveries in the 1986-89 period, which compared with the approved breakdown for the Eighth 5-Year Plan, total 583 buses—357 for the CSR and 226 for the SSR. Further, it was decided to press in the 1989-90 trade-political agreements for an increase in imports of articulated buses up to 250 more vehicles annually.

It was noted that the deterioration of in the situation of transportation to work has been successfully halted and, in some areas, it has even been improved. Nevertheless, the justified criticism of the current state of affairs continues. The provision of spare parts has not been ensured at the rate required and in a number of areas the shortage of buses continues.

In view of the fact that only a short period of time has elapsed since the last joint session, it was agreed that the realization of all the measures adopted so far will be assessed at the end of this year.

The CSSR Government Presidium and the URO Secretariat then discussed proposals for resolving other practical problems arising from the joint session of the CSSR Government and the URO Presidium on the conclusions of the statewide All-Trade Union Conference.

The Analysis of Wage Policy and Draft Measures Designed to Strengthen the Principles for Remuneration According to the Results of Work and to Simplify the Remuneration System, and the Draft Principles for Altering the Provision of Wage Preferences were assessed. The analysis constitutes the beginning of the preparations for a practical wage policy concept in the

Ninth 5-Year Plan. It notes that—in addition to the negative influence of the directive system of economic management and the use of wage measures to counteract the low level of efficiency of other resources in the economy—in the past the effectiveness of wages was also affected by many subjective influences emanating from the center and the enterprise sphere. From this arise the relevant proposals for steering the development and differentiation of wages, for strengthening the principle of remuneration according to results and gradually simplifying the remuneration systems. The fundamental requirement is to distinctly strengthen the active function of wages and their incentive effect.

The purpose of the proposed principles for altering the provision of wage preferences is to strengthen the incentive element of wages that has so far been applied to improve performance and the quality of work. Powers and responsibility in that sphere are being transferred to the economic sphere. It was recommended that appropriate wage instruments for boosting flexible wage components be left to the enterprises.

After having been discussed by the URO Presidium, the CSSR Government's draft directive on collective agreements was also assessed by the joint session. In accordance with that directive, state enterprises and other organizations will prepare collective agreements for 1990 in such a way that they correspond to the new conditions of the restructuring of the new economic mechanism. The directive strengthens the powers of the trade union organization; it determines the manner of the preparation, conclusion, content, and control of collective agreements. It also addresses the issue of how possible conflicts between contracting parties pertaining to the implementation of commitments may be resolved.

During the joint session it was agreed that the CSSR Government will instruct the relevant CSSR deputy premiers to ensure that the conclusions of the joint meeting are discussed, the procedure for implementing them in spheres managed by the republics' governments is established, and concrete proposals for solving selected themes are prepared.

The CSSR Government Presidium and the URO Secretariat consider it necessary that economic managements and trade union bodies and organizations pay exceptional attention to the half-yearly public examination of the state of fulfillment of the plan, the collective agreements, and the development of the working people's initiative. In accordance with the Appeal of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st Anniversary of Victorious February, this also involves the need to exactingly and critically assess the implementation of this year's plan and adopt effective measures to achieve greater efficiency and quality in production and ensure the smooth supplies for the domestic market, and to organize socialist competition for this purpose and create conditions for the further development of the brigades of socialist labor, comprehensive efficiency brigades and the inventors' and improvers' movement. It was agreed that the next joint meeting of the bodies of the CSSR Government and the URO will be held at the end of the year.

Daily Views New Appeal Supporting 1968 Work

LD1207224989 Prague CTK in English 2024 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 12 (CTK)—RUDE PRAVO stressed in an article, to be published Thursday, that if the authors of the recent appeal "Several Sentences" today openly support the bequest of "2,000 Words", published in 1968, it is because they identify themselves with the ideas of that statement. "However, the same applies today as it did then: Disruption cannot be permitted".

The paper stressed that "it was clear that (2,000 Words) was an attempt at a convulsion. Therefore also the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee of that time, led by Alexander Dubcek, saw the statement as a counterrevolutionary act".

RUDE PRAVO went on to say that the authors of the recent appeal confirm the direct link of the two statements by an "original" resemblance of their titles but it was one of the leaders of "charter" Jiri Dienstbier who openly declared his support for the "2,000 Words" in an interview granted to the Polish opposition daily GAZETA WYBORCZA. In the first statement the authors were only somewhat more open, RUDE PRAVO added.

Interior Ministry To Soften Emigration Law

LD1207135789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Representatives of the Czech Ministry of Interior and the Environment informed journalists in Prague today about the draft laws on the activity and decision-making by the national committees.

On the basis of the amendment of the Criminal Code, criminal acts of leaving the republic and of drunkenness will come under the Law of Misdemeanor. The return of a citizen from a foreign country after leaving the country would be discussed in misdemeanor proceedings, and the possible punishment would be a fine of kcs 10,000.

Legislative bodies are working also on a new law on the private activity of citizens which is to expand the conditions for small business. A new law on national committees and other legal amendments directed at reinforcing the authority of national committees and increasing the participation of citizens in self-management are also being worked on.

Journalists Association Statement 11 Jul
AU1307113189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jul 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Responsibility For the Fate of Restructuring; Statement by the Czechoslovak Journalists Association Presidium"]

[Text] Prague—On 11 July the Czechoslovak Journalists Association Presidium issued the following statement:

We are living and working in a period of important social changes. The Czechoslovak Journalists Association is primarily concentrating its efforts so that all journalists and, through their work, all working people understand the substance of the reforms, and so that each reader, listener, and viewer is aware of his responsibility for the fate of restructuring and democratization.

We want to support this process by practical deeds. We are accumulating experiences from the road along which we have embarked and we are moving forward toward the further development of society. We are trying to fill socialism with contents worthy of the socialist man. The road of revolutionary changes along which we have set out, whose ideological and political inspiration is the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, is not a problem-free process, nor is it without conflict. This process will not come about without radical interventions in existing conditions and habits. Therefore, it must not surprise us that during our journalistic work we come across dissatisfaction in various places, or misunderstanding by various individuals, or even come across groups of citizens who reject the necessary measures in good faith. We all know that the principles of restructuring are being asserted in complicated struggles but we have every reason for believing in the absolute success of the work which we have started and, therefore, we reject the spread of mistrust and defeatism. However, peace for work and a businesslike atmosphere are necessary, first and foremost, for this. Therefore, we unequivocally repudiate any forces using the process of democratization for their own destructive aims. In this connection, we condemn the groundless attacks made against honest journalists who are committed to asserting the policy of the Communist Party and the whole of the National Front. The complexity of the present period must lead us to new diligence in all aspects of our activity. Only restructuring and democratization of society which is implemented on socialist foundations remains the single alternative for the further development of our socialist homeland. We have sufficient strength and energy to become actively involved in the preparations for the upcoming 18th party congress.

Austrian Neutrality 'Threatened' by Joining EC
AU0607102989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Jul 89 p 7

[Jozef Janto commentary: "Request for 'Anschluss' to the EC"]

[Text] Friday's [30 June] editions of some Viennese newspapers announced in very meaningful headlines (A Great Day, The Road to Negotiations With the EC Is Open), the decision of the Austrian Parliament, which on Thursday empowered the government to negotiate with the EC for entry into this community. On the one hand, this fact aroused emotions bordering on euphoria, while on the other hand, it aroused disagreement and rejection.

First and foremost, those in the conservative circles, who see in the country's membership in the European Economic Community the surmounting of all present and future problems, especially economic ones, are expressing the positive points of view. These problems are not small; for example, this year, the Austrian state budget has to reckon with a deficit of more than 60 billion schillings.

The Communists and also the Greens are decidedly against the efforts of the Austrian Government to request entry into the EC, and in Parliament they voted against this step. They justify their stance with the fact that in tow of large West European multinational monopolies, the country would pay dearly, economically, and socially, for membership in the EC. For example, in Austria there is relatively low unemployment (something above 5 percent), however, in the Community the average level of unemployment is at least twice as high, while it is estimated that it will increase after the formation of the single internal market (starting in 1993).

However, a serious problem is Austrian neutrality, enshrined in the Constitution since 1955, and joining the EC would mean undermining the sovereignty of the state and the loss of its international prestige, for example, say the Communists. A large part of the populace also supports their stance, which was confirmed by a recent demonstration in Vienna against entry into the EC.

"Any kind of doubts about Austria's neutrality are unfounded", replies Chancellor Franz Vranitzky to those who do not agree with the "anschluss" to the EC. However, it is still not known what kind of conditions Brussels will put before Vienna when it officially makes a request to join the, so far, West European twelve....

In this connection, it is possible to recall, not without irony, that Vranitzky's defense minister, Lichal, has for some time been pressing for the purchase of "guided weapons" (that is, missiles) valued at several billion schillings. Since last October, Austria has been trying out two types: the Swedish Bill and even the Franco-West German Milan II. (Meanwhile, the state treaty forbids Austria both from purchasing missiles and from purchasing any kind of weapons from the FRG.) It is still perhaps necessary to remember that this is happening just at the time when intensive discussions on conventional disarmament in Europe are taking place in Vienna! However, Austrian army representatives justify their intentions with the necessity of defending the country's neutrality. From whom? Perhaps from the EC?

Schuerer, Maslyukov Visit Dresden Enterprises
AU1207081889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8-9 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Close Partnership Between GDR and USSR Enterprises"]

[Text] Dresden—During a visit to the Dresden Robotron and GERMED combines on Friday [7 July], the delegations of the GDR and USSR central planning organs familiarized themselves with the results and projects of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries. At Robotron, the delegations, which are led by Gerhard Schuerer, Central Committee Politburo candidate member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], deputy Council of Ministers chairman, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Committee, and Yuriy Maslyukov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, first deputy Council of Ministers chairman, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, visited production facilities of the combine's parent enterprise, including facilities for the production of multiple-purpose workplace computers as well as a test field for electronic data processing equipment and 32-byte computer technology.

The combine has exceeded its export plan for the Soviet Union in the first half year. Robotron has cooperated with Soviet partners in the area of key technologies for a long time. This year, the combine will supply to the USSR 2,400 personal computers and 54 electronic data processing units, among other things. There are direct relations between the Dresden Robotron-Projekt department and the Kalinin Zentrprogram System department.

Gerhard Schuerer said that the broad economic use of high technologies increasingly marked their joint work. Referring to the recent meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow, he stressed that it was more important than ever to develop further the well-tried cooperation between the two countries, particularly microelectronics and computer technology, in order to strengthen the economic potential of socialism, and to continuously increase the peoples' living standard. He said that in view of the 12th SED Congress, the task now was to define in detail and gradually implement the measures envisaged for the first half of the nineties, by coordinating the plans for the period from 1991 through 1995. In this respect, the Robotron combine is an important partner.

Yuriy Maslyukov for his part confirmed that his country also attached high importance to microelectronics for implementing the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, and pointed out the productive specialization and cooperation with the GDR in this area. He said that the concept, signed this year, of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the USSR up until the year 2000 defined the stretch of road that we want to cover jointly, in order to arrive at maximum performance and to increase the effectiveness and productivity of both countries' national economies.

At the Dresden GERMED pharmaceutical combine, the members of the delegations were particularly interested in the computer-controlled manufacture of pharmaceutical products. The guests were informed that the combine has cooperated closely with facilities in the USSR—GERMED's most important foreign trade partner—for more than 2 decades.

Schuerer, Maslyukov Sign Protocol
AU1207095389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jul 89 p 3

[ADN report: "GDR and USSR Planning Organs Ended Discussions"]

[Text] Berlin—The delegations of the GDR and USSR central planning organs ended their several days of negotiations in Berlin on Sunday [9 July] with a protocol on the results of the talks on the coordination of the 1991-1995 national economic plans between the GDR and the USSR, that was signed by Gerhard Schuerer, Central Committee Politburo member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], deputy Council of Ministers chairman, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, and Yuriy Maslyukov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, first deputy Council of Ministers chairman, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee.

Gerhard Schuerer and Yuriy Maslyukov stressed the importance of coordinating the national economic plans as a main form of coordinating the economic and scientific-technological relations for the next 5-year plan period. In this way, the two countries' cooperation, which is marked by stability and continuity, is being continued in accordance with the accords reached between Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, and Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

The diverse ties that exist between the GDR and the USSR in research, development, production, and goods exchange will also be expanded in the next few years by way of more far-reaching cooperation between enterprises, combines, and facilities, as well as by the development of direct relations.

Both chairmen agreed to actively pursue the tasks in having the plans coordinated by the central planning organs, enterprises, and combines.

Guenter Ehrensperger, SED Central Committee member and director of the Planning and Finance Department of the SED Central Committee, and Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR, were present at the signing.

Schuerer, Hungary's Medgyessy Discuss Trade

AU1307092989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Goods Exchange With Hungary Increased Over 1988"]

[Text] Berlin—Peter Medgyessy, deputy Council of Ministers chairman of the Hungarian People's Republic, is visiting the GDR at the invitation of Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, and Central Committee Politburo member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. The friendly meeting was focused on management and planning problems of the two countries' national economies, and on problems of bilateral cooperation. The partners in the talks stressed the high level of trade relations which have developed continuously. They said that the "Long-Term Program on the Development of Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic up Until the Year 2000," which was agreed on at the highest level, has proved to be a basis of bilateral trade relations.

Based on the agreements reached during the meeting between Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, and Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], in Berlin in September 1988, both sides confirmed that the coordination of the 1991-95 plans creates good conditions for the further development of mutually advantageous trade relations. The partners in the talks stated with satisfaction that the mutual goods exchange increased in 1989 as against the previous year.

They exchanged views on the two countries' development on the basis of the resolutions adopted at the 11th SED Congress and the 13th MSZMP Congress. Gerhard Schuerer expounded the policy for the people's benefit, which was marked by continuity and renewal, and had also proved to be a solid foundation in preparations for the 12th party congress. Peter Medgyessy gave a report on the MSZMP's work for calling the 14th party congress in October this year, and stressed that economic reform was closely connected with the process of the further shaping of socialist democracy in the Hungarian People's Republic. He welcomed the exchange of opinion between the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic in the economic policy area, which was valuable for the tasks to be solved, he said.

In the course of the talks, they exchanged experiences on management and planning of the two countries' national economies. The GDR's experience of how the combines and enterprises meet their increased responsibility for the economic process of reproduction met with particular interest. Gerhard Schuerer and Peter Medgyessy discussed problems of cooperation in the framework of CEMA.

Erno Laktos, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the GDR, and economic experts from the two countries took part in the talks.

Further on Kleiber, Medgyessy Talks

LD1107193489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1413 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—During a friendly talk in Berlin today, Guenther Kleiber, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo and the Hungarian Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy exchanged experiences on the current social developments in their countries. They stressed the breadth and diversity of the bilateral cooperation in the areas of economy, science, education and culture. Medgyessy emphasized the usefulness of the exchange of views between the party and state leaderships of the two countries, in enabling them to put to better use the experiences gained in building socialism.

On the subjects of the management and planning of the national economy and of cooperation in economy, science and technology, the interlocutors referred to the corresponding long-term program up to the year 2000, approved in 1985. This provided a sound basis for the further development of relations. In the coordination of plans for the period 1991-1995, also, all possibilities should be exploited to continue the dynamic development in cooperation and thus to make a more effective contribution to improving the national economies of the two countries.

Great importance was attached here to key technologies such as microelectronics, computer and robot technology, new materials and biotechnology. It is necessary to extend specialization and cooperation and to ensure a broader application of forms of cooperation such as direct relations between enterprises, institutions and collectives. The interlocutors expressed their satisfaction with the results of the reciprocal exchange of goods. Opinions were also exchanged on the future cooperation of the two countries in CEMA.

Kim Il-Song Visits GDR Youth Festival Club

AU1107201689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8-9 Jul 89 p 2

[ND report: "Kim Il-Song Visits the GDR Club at the 13th World Youth Festival"]

[Text] Pyongyang—The visit by Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] and president of DPRK, to the GDR National Festival Club in Pyongyang on Friday [7 July] developed into a manifestation of the fraternal alliance between the GDR and DPRK. In front of the entrance of the club, the central club house of the Korean youth association, Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the Central Council of the Free German Youth [FDY], cordially welcomed the patron of the festival and Ho Tam, Kim

Yong-nam, and Yi Chong-ok, members of the WPK Central Committee Politburo. The members of the GDR delegation received the Korean statesman enthusiastically. Eberhard Aurich expressed his joy that the highest-ranking DPRK representative demonstrated the close ties between the two socialist states by his visit.

He reported on the great interest in the Pyongyang festival which exists in the GDR and showed Kim Il-song newspapers from his homeland which reported in detail on the world youth festival. We want to express cordial thanks for the Korean people's hospitality, the head of the GDR delegation said. The WPK, the country's youth, and all the people made a great job of developing the 13th World Youth Festival under the slogan "For anti-imperialist solidarity, peace, and friendship" into a great success. Eberhard Aurich conveyed very cordial thanks for this on behalf of all GDR delegates.

The general secretary of the WPK Central Committee paid tribute to the active contribution of the GDR delegation to the success of the world youth meeting in Pyongyang. Kim Il-song stressed: "I also want to express my thanks for the great material and idealistic achievements accomplished by the GDR people for the success of the 13th world festival. The ties between the young people of our two countries will be further strengthened by this festival."

Krenz Holds Talks With DPRK Vice President

LD1207231489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1535 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The good state of close relations between the parties, states and peoples of the GDR and the DPRK was praised today in Berlin by Egon Krenz, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo, and Yi Chong-ok, member of the Korean Workers Party Politburo and vice president of the DPRK.

They concurred in underlining the indivisible connection between further strengthening socialism and preserving peace. The disarmament process must be advanced and made irreversible. The GDR's policy, aimed at trusting cooperation and dialogue, and the DPRK's comprehensive efforts for the peaceful solution of problems on the Korean Peninsula made an (?important contribution to this) [words indistinct]. Egon Krenz referred to the results of the Bucharest meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political consultative Committee. He stressed that the allied socialist states are firmly determined to create a stable and secure Europe, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and to substantially reduce the armed forces, armaments and military expenditure.

Goetting Attends Inauguration in Argentina

AU1207141989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jul 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Message from Erich Honecker to Argentine President"]

[Excerpt] Buenos Aires—Fifty-nine-year-old Carlos Menem was sworn in as the new president of Argentina in Buenos Aires on Saturday [8 July], thus succeeding the previous head of state Raul Alfonsin.

A personal message from GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker to Argentina's new president was handed over in Buenos Aires by Gerald Goetting, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council. Gerald Goetting, who, together with representatives from 70 countries, attended the festive inauguration of the Argentine head of state, wished Carlos Menem much success in fulfilling his responsible task. The president expressed thanks for the greetings and stressed his country's interest in the further development of bilateral relations. He asked Gerald Goetting to convey cordial greetings and best wishes to the GDR's head of state. [passage omitted]

Meets With Argentine Officials

AU1207142189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR Politician Holds Talks in Argentine"]

[Text] Buenos Aires—Gerald Geotting, deputy chairman of the State Council and president of the GDR League for Friendship Among Peoples, had a cordial meeting with the leadership of the Argentina-GDR Friendship Society "Ateneo Alejandro von Humboldt" in Buenos Aires on Sunday [9 July]. The talk was also attended by figures from the honorary committee "40 years of GDR" and the Peace Council.

Earlier, the GDR politician met with the general secretary of the Argentine Catholic Bishops Conference, Arancibia, and representatives of the Jewish community.

Gerald Goetting is in Argentina on the occasion of the inauguration of President Carlos Saul Menem.

Honecker Answers Appeal by Physicians' Group

LD1207230489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1605 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker has replied to a joint appeal by the national sections of the GDR and FRG [International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War] against the modernization of nuclear short-range missiles at the beginning of July.

In the letter to the GDR section addressed to Professor Dr Mebel and Professor Dr Roeding, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, referred to the fact that the GDR resolutely supports the complete elimination of nuclear weapons from the European continent and the entire planet. In order to achieve that aim there must be no let-up in the introduced disarmament process, which also included further zero options for nuclear weapons.

Stoph Receives Party Greetings on Birthday

AU1207133789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jul 89 p 3

[ND report: "Congratulations from the Central Committee"]

[Text] East Berlin—The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] has conveyed most cordial greetings and congratulations to Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on his 75th birthday. "On behalf of all Communists of our country, we thank you for the great contribution you have made for decades to the cause of socialism and peace as a leading SED official and an internationally respected statesman of our worker-peasant power," the greetings message stresses.

"Your early life was characterized by the fact that you were born the son of a class-minded workers family. During your childhood and early youth, your experiences with the imperialist system that is harmful to man convinced you that capitalist exploitation and suppression can only be overcome by the active political work of the revolutionary workers movement. As early as the age of 14, as a mason's apprentice, you struggled for the interests of young workers within the communist youth association and the trade union." In 1931 Willi Stoph became a member of Communist Party of Germany. Guided by the example of our unforgotten Ernst Thaelmann, he participated in the sacrificial class struggle and the illegal resistance against fascism and war, and reliably fulfilled all tasks that the party assigned to him. Together with numerous other fellow fighters, he unwaveringly and steadfastly adhered to the goals and ideals of the revolutionary workers class during this difficult period.

"In this way you helped to uphold the banner of our struggle, which showed us the way to antifascist reconstruction and socialism in our country after the destruction of Hitlerite fascism and the liberation of our country by the glorious Red Army. Immediately after the liberation, you were among the activists of the first hour. You devoted all your strength, combat experience, knowledge, and abilities to bringing about antifascist-democratic changes and the construction of socialist society in the GDR," the message continues.

"Since the founding of the GDR, you have been active in the highest positions of our worker-peasant state for the benefit of all classes and strata. At the proposal of our party, the voters have expressed their confidence in you as a deputy of the People's Chamber for 4 decades. As a minister, as deputy and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, as chairman of the GDR State Council from 1973-76, and then again as chairman of the Council of Ministers and deputy chairman of the State Council, you have played and important role in the development of our socialist state. You have made a sizable contribution to developing and expanding the firm alliance between our party and the allied parties. You earned lasting credit in the consistent implementation of the unity of economic and social policy adopted by the Eighth SED Congress, and in ensuring continuity and renewal in shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR."

The message stresses that Willi Stoph has always advocated close fraternal relations between our party and the CPSU. The comprehensive expansion of cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist states is dear to his heart. As the head of government of the socialist German state, he has earned great respect in dialogue with leading representatives of other states on vital issues concerning the safeguarding of peace in Europe and the world.

The State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the GDR People's Chamber also conveyed congratulations to Willi Stoph.

Awarded Order of October Revolution

AU1207133589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jul 89 p 3

[ADN report: "Cordial Congratulations for Comrade Willi Stoph on 75th Birthday"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Sunday morning [9 July] Willi Stoph received cordial congratulations from his closest colleagues and fellow fighters. Egon Krenz, member of the Central Committee and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, conveyed greetings and congratulations from the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and General Secretary Erich Honecker. Krenz also spoke on behalf of the State Council and, in the presence of members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo, presented the Karl Marx Order to Willi Stoph, which was awarded to him by the head of state at the proposal of the Politburo and the Presidium of the Council of Ministers.

The members of the Council of Ministers also conveyed cordial congratulations to their Chairman Willi Stoph. Horst Sindermann spoke on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Chamber, and Harry Tisch conveyed congratulations on behalf of the trade unions united in the Free German Trade Union Federation.

The GDR's other parties, organizations, and fellow fighters also presented congratulations to the chairmen of the Council of Ministers.

Presentation of Order of the October Revolution

According to a decree issued by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Will Stoph was awarded the Order of the October Revolution. He received the order for his contribution to strengthening fraternal friendship and cooperation between the GDR and USSR.

Hager Congratulates Party College Graduates

AU1107203589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Jul 89 p 6

[ND/ADN report: "Academic Year 1988/89 Was Concluded at 'Karl Marx' Party College"]

[Text] East Berlin—At the end of the academic year 1988/89 at the "Karl Marx" Party College attached to the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, conveyed cordial congratulations from the Central Committee and General Secretary Erich Honecker to the 660 graduates from the GDR and other countries in Berlin on Thursday [6 July]. "In the coming months we will commemorate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and prepare for the 12th SED Congress," Kurt Hager stated. "We will render an account of what we have achieved and what he have not accomplished yet. It will above all be important to discuss the path that we will pursue in the nineties and when crossing the threshold to the new century. We will certainly stick to the course of the unity of economic and social policy, aimed at the well-being of the people. Our party will certainly decide to continue to shape developed socialist society in the GDR."

The continuation of this policy must be linked with renewal on the basis of dialectics, he pointed out. The statement included in the SED's program that socialist development in the GDR is taking place within the framework of a historic process of far-reaching political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes, applies both to the past years, as well as to the present and future.

Referring to imperialism's strategy aimed at slandering socialist society and the socialist states, Kurt Hager stressed: "Socialism is a young social system. Within a short period, during which great losses were caused by wars and crises, formerly backward agricultural states turned into industrial-agricultural states; the state and the laws, and education and culture increasingly assumed a socialist nature, socialist values and achievements developed, and socialist economic integration and other forms of cooperation among socialist countries evolved. This process of social changes made it necessary to embark on completely new paths in economic management and planning and in other spheres, which of course also involved mistakes and critical situations. Only those who believe that developments must always be harmonious and proceed according to their own wishes do not understand this."

Referring to developments in the GDR in this connection, the speaker emphasized that the past 4 decades have clearly shown that as a matter of fact—contrary to claims by bourgeois and social democratic ideologists—the workers class, in alliance with the other working people, was and still is in a position to build its own state, to manage the economy with a high efficiency, and to make education and culture flourish. All this happened—one should not forget this at any moment—despite the counterrevolutionary action on 17 June 1953 and despite incessant slander campaigns waged against the worker-peasant state on German soil.

It is important that understanding of our social strategy is increasingly deepened in ideological work, and that the results that have been achieved particularly since the Eighth SED Congress, of which we can rightly be proud, are repeatedly emphasized, Kurt Hager stated. As the eighth Central Committee session pointed out, the further implementation of the unity of economic and social policy requires a high level of dynamics concerning the development of the economy's performance and efficiency. This can primarily be achieved through full application of science and technology, and through the further development of the productive forces.

"Our goal was and continues to be to aim at new developments and to win over all working people to active participation in new solutions. Orientation toward the new and preservation of things that have proved themselves, that means orientation toward continuity and renewal, are characteristics of our party because it is a party of renovators, as has been demonstrated by the reforms and far-reaching changes that have taken place during 40 years of the GDR's history," he stressed.

The reforms that we have carried out since 1945, and which we will carry out in any field if necessary, will always serve social progress, the well-being of the people, and the further strengthening of socialism. Reforms that should make possible transition toward "free market economy" or which would result in the abandonment of all our socialist achievements, of all values and ideals of socialism, will not stand a chance in the GDR, Kurt Hager stated.

In a letter to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, the Communists of the party college pledged to use all their strength in the future to train cadres who are willing and able to implement the strategy and tactics of our party under all circumstances and to apply and propagandize Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner.

The festive meeting was attended by Central Committee members Hannes Hoernig, director of the Central Committee Science Department, and Fritz Mueller, director of the Central Committee Cadre Department.

At the beginning of the event, the rector of the party college, Kurt Tiedke, presented the main results achieved in teaching and research during the academic year 1988/89. In the afternoon he handed out diplomas and reports to the graduates, including representatives of 42 fraternal parties.

Party Makes Plans To Facilitate Travel To West
AU1007194889 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 10 Jul 89 p 17

[Unattributed report: "Easier to the West"]

[Text] The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] wants to further facilitate trips by GDR citizens to the West: At present, the responsible authorities are developing a second directive on the travel regulations issued on 30 November. According to it, East Germans without relatives in the West are to be permitted to visit friends or acquaintances in the FRG—on a limited scale. With the new regulation, the SED leadership hopes to decrease the domestic political pressure which has been built up by the past months' development in the socialist fraternal states of Poland and Hungary and the division of the GDR society in citizens with and without relatives in the West, and thus with and without the opportunity of visits. It is not yet certain when the new regulation of trips to the West will come into force. However, one thing is already certain: According to the party leaders' will, directors of enterprises and functionaries from the security sector will remain excluded from the liberalization of the travel regulation. Thus, the SED leadership has to continue its struggle against one negative effect of facilitated travels: Because they do not want to exclude themselves from the circle of people entitled to travel to the West, the aversion of young, qualified cadres to take over leading positions is increasing.

Comparison of Warsaw Pact Conference Communique
AU1207185889

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 10 July on page 2, under the headline "Communique of the Conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee," carries the 3,600-word text of the communique of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference held in Bucharest from 7 to 8 July 1989. Comparison of the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND version with the the item headlined 'Communique Published' in the 10 July edition of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 12, column 1, shows the two to be identical except for the following variations:

Paragraph one, first sentence reads:.[Text] From 7 to 8 July 1989.... (supplying additional words)

Paragraph two, first sentence reads: Bulgaria: Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the head of.... (providing variant wording)

Paragraph twenty-five, only sentence reads: ...for peace and stability in Europe and.... (providing variant word)

Comparison of Warsaw Pact Conference Document
AU1207182189

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 10 July on pages 1-2, under the headline "For a Stable and Secure Europe, Free From Nuclear and Chemical Weapons, for a Significant Reduction of Armed Forces, Arms, and Military Appropriations," carries the 5,000-word declaration of the Warsaw Pact member states which was signed at the meeting of the Political Consultative Council in Bucharest on 8 July 1989. Comparison of the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND version with the item headlined "Text of Document" published in the 10 July edition of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 7, column 2, shows the two to be identical except for the following variations:

Subhead I, paragraph one to paragraph two, sentence one, reads: [Text] The supreme representatives.... (omitting introductory paragraph which is NEUES DEUTSCHLAND headline)

Paragraph three, last sentence reads: ...overcoming underdevelopment, of creating a new international.... (providing variant word)

Paragraph five, only sentence, reads: ...in favor of political partnership, mutual understanding, trust,.... (providing variant words)

Under subhead II, paragraph twenty-six, first sentence, reads: ...of naval forces as well as.... (omitting words)

Under subhead III, first paragraph, first sentence reads: The insuring of stability and security.... (rewording, omitting words, providing variant wording)

Under subhead IV, first paragraph, last sentence to end of item reads: ...allied socialist states. (omitting names of signatories to the document, place, and date)

Reportage on Bush Visit Events, Departure

Previews in Daily Press

AU1307133689

[Editorial Report] The Hungarian dailies on 10 and 11 July carry extensive articles on the impending visit of U.S. President Bush in Hungary.

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian on 10 July on page 3 carries an 800-word editorial by Margit Kocsi, under the headline: "We and America." The article describing the bilateral relations over the years and the contribution of Hungarian immigrants to U.S. science and culture opens with "the symbol" represented by the restoration in Budapest, of the statue of U.S. General Harry Hill Bandholtz; "who personally prevented the Romanian occupation forces from removing the treasures of the Hungarian National Museum in 1919." The article recalls Karoly Grosz' visit in the United States in 1988 and sets this visit as a background for the current Bush visit, and then praises Bush's statements prior to this visit according to which he "does not intend to interfere in Hungary's internal affairs or to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."

As for the expectations from the visit, the article calls the visit "a global event" which could "encourage favorable processes" and lead to a "further rapprochement between the two separated sides of our continent." The article also mentions the worldwide publicity given to Hungary on the occasion, and the importance of a successful visit for the future of bilateral relations.

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 11 July on page 3 carries a 700-word editorial by Peter Sereny, under the headline: "Welcome, Mr President!" The article welcomes the "long overdue" visit which could not take place before World War II "because of geographical distances" and later, because of "political distances." The current visit is taking place "at a fortunate time when we are living the real renaissance of East-West contacts." The article then praises Bush for his straight words and for making it clear when he offered economic support that "the United States will not solve the problems of the Hungarian and Polish economies" and this only "increases, rather than decreases, the value of the measures he intends to take." In the same line of economic expectations, the article reminds the readers of the impending summit of leading economic powers in Paris where "Bush will inform his colleagues about his experiences in Warsaw and Budapest" and thus, this visit will "not only encourage our bilateral relations but could also have a positive effect on the way Hungary is evaluated by the entire Western world." Similarly, the President "will also have the opportunity to receive first-hand information" on the decisions of the recent Warsaw Pact meeting held in Bucharest and "on the Hungarian leaders' impressions."

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian on 11 July on page 1 carries a 1,000-word editorial signed by Janos Avar, under the headline: "Mr. President," which opens by assuring the President of the warm welcome the Hungarian people are preparing for him. The article continues by describing the people's "great expectations" of this visit and their opportunity to host the U.S. President "at a time when Hungary has come to a crossroads and is now starting on the road leading to really democratic conditions." The article makes no secret of the fact that the Hungarian people "expect support from you for their efforts" and find it important that "there is equal encouragement today both in Washington and Moscow" for the Hungarian developments. Mentioning Hungary's geopolitical situation, the article stresses that "it is vital for Hungary to increase the number of its friends" and that "the identity of values and goals, rather than geographical proximity or distance, determine the level of friendship." Like the other editorials, this one also praises Bush for "supporting our openness and refraining from demanding a 'closure' of our Eastern contacts." The article also praises Bush's interview given to Hungarian journalists prior to his visit and concludes by asking the President to "represent Hungary's interests a little at the upcoming Paris summit."

The same newspaper on page 3 carries a 1,400 word article by Istvan Csurka under the headline: "Hungarian Greeting" which praises Bush for his warm words in the interview given prior to the visit and for his "tact and fine sense in finding the proper tone that opens up our hearts." Recalling the latest mass demonstrations in Hungary and Ambassador Mark Palmer's justified pride in these events, the article continues by praising the "free assertion of democracy and freedom in the United States for more than 200 years" and the "continued goal of the U.S. policy to encourage the changes under way in East Europe." Drawing a parallel, Csurka says that, in simultaneously calling for changes and domestic stability, the U.S. Administration should know that "this stability can be achieved only by the support of a strong and adequately supported opposition and of the forces of national independence." Therefore, the article finds it desirable to receive possible support and economic aid in the form of "the long-awaited influx of foreign capital" only after "honest and adequately controlled elections."

The article concludes by describing Hungary's increased role today in the U.S. and world political stage as deriving from the fact that Hungary is "both the subject and object of an extraordinary experiment" of how to transform the country "from a monolithic dictatorship and state socialist economy into a pluralist democracy with a market economy, all this by peaceful means."

Speech at Karl Marx University

LD1207125989

[Editor's Note] Budapest television service in Hungarian at 1115 GMT on 12 July begins a live relay from the Great Hall of Karl Marx University in Budapest. Correspondent Endre Aczel sets the scene, noting that there

may be a delay in President Bush's schedule because his talks with Rezso Nyers, Karoly Grosz, and Miklos Nemeth lasted longer than intended.

At 1123 he reports that some of the U.S. delegtion have entered the hall. Premier Miklos Nemeth is already present, he says. At 1129 President Bush's arrival is announced; he and his wife enter the hall.

At 1130 an unidentified speaker is heard greeting President Bush and praising the significance of his visit. The speech, delivered in English, points out that the Karl Marx University is one of the most important workshops of Hungary's reform processes. The university offers its students great freedom regarding what they study, and its gates are open both to the East and the West. On behalf of the university council, its teachers, and all of Hungarian society, the speaker greets President Bush and asks him to speak.

At 1135 President Bush delivers his speech, which ends at 1159, followed by tumultuous applause.

Travel, Trade, Agriculture Pacts

LD1207160289 Budapest MTI in English 1444 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—Four bilateral agreements drafted for President Bush's visit were formally signed in the parliament building, Budapest, on Wednesday morning.

The civil aviation agreement was signed, on Hungary's part by Andras Derszi, minister of transport, telecommunication and construction, the tourist agreement by Tamas Beck, minister of trade, the contract for industrial restructuring of the Borsod region by Robert Cravero, vice-president of the National Planning Office and the agricultural agreement by Csaba Hutter, minister of agriculture and food. On the American side, the documents were signed by Ambassador Mark Palmer.

Under the joint statement on the development of agricultural trade and cooperation, the parties will endeavour to promote development of agricultural cooperation and mutual benefits in the field of soil and water control, forestry, plant production, animal husbandry and related areas. In order to ensure the development of economic relations, and promote the flow of information, both parties will, on a regular basis, exchange data, forecasts and other information on production, utilization and trade of major agricultural commodities in their countries.

In order to develop working relationships, both parties will promote and facilitate joint activities and contacts between representatives of the parties and companies, associations, and educational and research institutions in both countries, and they will facilitate and promote joint research and exchange visits by agricultural researchers, specialists and scientific trainees. The parties will also encourage training institutions, universities, private research organizations and cooperatives in each of their respective countries to undertake working contacts with their counterpart organizations in the country of the other party.

Under auspices of the joint statement, a working group is in function that meets to develop and adopt measures for the realization of the present statement and report on their implementation.

The background to the agreement that concerns the easing and development of tourism lies in the memorandum signed during ASTA's [American Society of Travel Agents] 1988 World Travel Congress in Budapest. In the memorandum it was agreed to enlarge tourist cooperation between the two countries.

The partners asserted their wishes in the new agreement to inform each other on tourism-related activities, investment and trade. The agreement states that the questions of common interest will be discussed at sessions of the US-Hungarian Joint Economic and Commercial Committee (JECC). On certain questions, representatives of the government tourist organizations wil take part in the work of the JECC.

The agreement also deals with the importance of professional training and the exchange of information related to this. It mentions the improvement in comparable tourist statistics, taking into consideration recommendations of the World Tourism Organization (WTO).

To the effect of the agreement, the Hungarian Government has assigned the Hungarian Tourist Board of the Ministry of Trade and the United States has assigned the Travel and Tourism Administration of the Department of Commerce.

The agreement is valid for five years with a possible extension for five more years if the partners agree.

Nemeth Assessment of Talks

LD1207174189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Premier Miklos Nemeth, who held talks for over an hour with the U.S. President, summarizes the essence of his talks in the following way for the radio.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Mr Premier, was there some kind of division of work between the chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the head of government on the subject under discussion?

[Nemeth] There was no prearranged division of work, as to who should speak about this subject or who should speak about another area—about political or economic

reform. I think it was advisable to avoid this so that the President and his entourage should hear that in the fundamental questions, in both areas—what is more, I add the third area, that of the problems of reform of consciousness too—that this leadership is united and determined to implement this transition peacefully.

My experience was that the President listened to the Hungarian Government's ideas with great attention. He emphasized that here that agree with us, that any kind of external interference would not be advisable. They are not here to propose the U.S. model to the Hungarian Government. On the contrary, they are here to listen to us, to see where they can morally, politically, and naturally in the area of the economy, in the area of financial relations, cooperate with us so that the Hungarian model change should be able to lean on ever stronger forces.

It was not the cap-in-hand form and model of giving aid which dominated the talks. [end recording]

Pozsgay News Briefing on Talks

LD1207184389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] [Correspondent] In the afternoon, at the ambassador's residence, George Bush held separate talks with Imre Pozsgay, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Presidium, minister of state. Not long afterwards, Imre Pozsgay reported on his talks, at a press briefing that was followed with very great attention:

[Begin Pozsgay recording] The main lesson that can be drawn so far from the visit's events is that what has happened has been in accordance with the Hungarian Government's expectations; it opens up a type of cooperation opportunity for reforming the economy and for political reform, the country's progress, alike, which is significant not merely from the viewpoint of Hungarian-U.S. relations but also from the viewpoint of world publicity and moral approval of the Hungarian reform.

Regarding the personal consultation held with the President, I should briefly like to say, now, that I spoke primarily about the possibilities for peaceful reform, about political relations and political conciliation talks which could prepare a peaceful transition, a successful political reform, and a new period of legislation and government which is based on free elections.

I also note that it was not primarily details and programmatic matters that I wanted to brief the President on, but rather the internal consistency and irreversibility of this conception, and our commitment to this. What I might, after all, have added as information, was the statement that, although it is necessary to implement political reform at the cost of political struggles and in the difficult social conditions of our country's population, and that it is also necessary to implement a market-economy model- change, we nonetheless believe and feel that here at home, in Hungary, there is no substantial basis for forces that want a roll- back. The contest is taking place as a political struggle, in order to decide, while leaving the experiences of 40 years behind us, who is able to put before the people an authentic program and credible personalities, in this contest.

I also must say that President Bush and Secretary of State Baker, who took part in the talks, showed themselves to be thoroughly informed about Hungary. Their remarks and questions demonstrated that they were well-versed. The matter of the relationship between the MSZMP and the opposition also arose in the discussion: The question arose regarding the relationship between MSZMP and the opposition, as to whether the MSZMP is really a gathering place for reform forces, and not for a roll-back. I assured them that the MSZMP is a gathering and organizing place for reform forces, and not for the forces serving a roll-back. Thus, real cooperation is taking shape between the opposition's sober circles that want consensus and are serving a peaceful transition, and the MSZMP; this is taking place in a manner so that in the meantime neither of them has to renounce its identity. [end recording]

[Correspondent] By the way, in the major part of the press briefing which, unusually, was received with applause, the foreign correspondents virtually exclusively put domestic political questions to Imre Pozsgay, which at the most were only indirectly connected to today's talks.

Meeting With Hungarian, U.S. Students

LD1207185589 Budapest MTI in English 1517 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—At Wednesday noon, President George Bush met with 12 Hungarian University students and American students studying in Hungary, in the Buda Castle, the building of the former Tancsics Prison that is now in American ownership. The building—where Mihaly Tancsics was once imprisoned—is currently used as the home of the American Marines serving in the American Embassy in Budapest.

The President held an informal talk with the students.

Bush' Thanks at Embassy Reception

LD1207215889 Budapest MTI in English 2059 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—The last event of the official programme on Wednesday was the reception hosted by George Bush, President of the United States of America, at the residence of the American ambassador to Hungary. Some 250 persons were invited.

President Bush voiced particular thanks to Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic for the hospitality shown on Tuesday evening at the gala dinner in the Hungarian parliament building.

Other guests included the negotiating partners of President Bush: Rezso Nyers, president of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP, Miklos Nemeth, prime minister, Matyas Szuros, speaker of parliament, and Imre Pozsgay, minister of state. Also present was Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, and members of the Council of Ministers and several MPs of parliament.

Several leaders and representatives of the various opposition parties and new political organizations were also present.

The invited guests represented the most diverse strata of Hungarian society, from leading politicians to private entrepreneurs. Alongside many well-known scientists, artists, athletes, and several leaders of the Hungarian churches, the neighbours of the American ambassador were also invited.

The reception took place in a warm atmosphere and the President and Mrs Bush spoke briefly to all their guests.

Baker News Conference

LD1207210489 Budapest MTI in English 1821 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker held a press conference on Wednesday afternoon in Budapest. Mr Baker again stressed that the East European trip of President Bush is not motivated by some sort of goal to rival Mikhail Gorbachev, and even less by a wish of the United States to cause problems between the Soviet Union and its allies. 'This trip serves to prove that the United States is interested in the ongoing reform processes of the visited countries, and also wishes to provide them with support', the secretary of state said. 'Poland and Hungary today are nearing the enforcement of those ideas which are highly respected by the United States and its allies. We wish to support this process, and President Bush also discussed this in his lecture at the university of economics.'

In answer to questions, the secretary of state said that President Bush will propose to his six partners at the Paris summit of the leading capitalist countries that they support the countries progressing on the road of reform. Mr Bush does not, however, intend to submit a concrete programme or to propose sums. With respect to the sums now announced by the President, it was not stated they would be eventually increased. As is known, the President pledged to set up a fund of 100 million dollars for Poland, and 25 million dollars for Hungary, to support private initiatives. The sums approximate to the relevant demands of the two countries, and the numeric proportion of the population.

Mr Baker repeated that, in Washington's evaluation, 'changes of dramatic importance' are taking place in Poland and Hungary. The United States also follows with attention the processes taking place in the Soviet Union, and attaches major importance to them. In Hungary, reforms 'have a good chance', said the secretary of state.

Mr Baker announced at the press conference that the United States would submlit in Vienna on Thursday its detailed proposals on the reduction of conventional weapons. The framework earlier presented by President Bush, and approved by the Atlantic treaty at the Brussels summit of NATO, envisage the large-scale reduction of conventional weapons. Mr Baker did not go into details, but said that under the NATO proposal, the sides should set the number of armoured vehicles and fighter planes at 15 per cent lower than the current level of NATO's strength. This would mean, among other things, that the sides will be able to keep a total 5,700 fighter planes and 1,900 battle helicopters.

Leaders' Interview on Visit

LD1207210989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Reports on talks and interviews with MSZMP Chairman Rezso Nyers, Premier Miklos Nemeth, National Assembly Chairman Matyas Szuros, and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] President Bush is in our country. According to the Hungarian leaders we must solve all our problems ourselves, but we also depend on international support.

[Begin recording] [Nyers] They want to help Hungary, too, in such a way that Hungary can help itself economically. I also think that this is the appropriate solution for Hungary, from the point of view of our national dignity and independence, as well as the fact that we are dependant on the world economy and the United States is a significant part of this.

They are conducting a considered and cautious economic and foreign policy, which is however based on an understanding of the European and Eastern-central-European situation. The investment of capital and financial contacts have and will play a part here. As for the investment of capital, there is no question about their wanting to encourage U.S. capital for contacts; they do wish to encourage it, that was unequivocal.

[Correspondent] But the U.S. philosophy by nature is help yourself, primarily.

[Nyers] They also said this, but they added that they will help, so that we can help ourselves. [Word indistinct] help is included. Translated into ordinary language, this means that they will give money for development but not for consumption. [end recording]

[Presenter] The key word in the talks held with Premier Miklos Nemeth was the market economy. Bush declared that the United States wishes to support the reform, but it would like to avoid even the semblance of intervention. It gladly puts at our disposal its experiences, which are necessary for restructuring political and economic institutions. Miklos Nemeth spoke among other things about the fact that the success of our economic and political reform also depends on whether our way of thinking also changes.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] What was your general impression premier: Do they evaluate the activity of the Hungarian leadership positively in this period, which can be called transitional—meaning the Americans, the administration?

[Nemeth] Yes, I felt so. Bush's opening sentence was that everything that he heard has convinced him that the Hungarian leadership is resolutely on the path of reform, and there are points on the agenda of Hungarian politics that are worth support—not just from the U.S. Government but also from the developed capitalist countries. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Matyas Szuros, National Assembly speaker, gave a briefing about the growing role and influence of parliament. He said that Hungarian endeavors are directed toward its international contacts not being one-sided; in accordance with this, it is placing cooperation with the USSR on new bases too.

[Begin recording] [Szuros] I emphasized that our situation is unique, in Europe at least, for there is no other country that lost two-thirds of its territory in the 20th century. One-third of magyardom lives beyond our borders, which primarily in a historical and cultural sense, we consider to be part of the Hungarian nation; we feel responsibility for their fate. We know that in the United States Hungarians living there are happy, but there are are countries where this is not the case, and there are places where Hungarians are oppressed, where their national identity cannot be asserted; they are restricted in their national rights, their nationality rights, and so on. We consider this to be part of the general question of human rights. We are fighting for the codification of the individual and collective rights of the nationalities and we know that the President himself and the U.S. Administration itself is a standard-bearer for the representaton of questions of human rights.

For this reason, I asked that, in the future, too, they support our just struggle and work in connection with this. Mr President approved of this greatly—he was familiar with this question, too—emphasizing that in the future we can also count on their cooperation and support. At the same time, he formulated a precept according to which, in the future, we must work so that our endeavor or appearance in this direction should not signify an intervention in the internal affairs of others. [end recording]

[Presenter] Following all this, the two foreign ministers held a private talks in the parliament building. Gyula Horn raised the thought of an international conference, which would be held in the fall in Hungary, about how the most developed countries could help the development of the Hungarian economy.

James Baker stated that his country is aware of the difficulties that the restrictions of the COCOM prohibitive list cause the Hungarian economy. He expressed the hope that there would be a possibility of easing the bans, in certain concrete agreements.

Following the end of the talks, the newsreel camera managed to get near James Baker.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Mr Minister, a few words to the Hungarian television viewers. What international questions did you talk about with your Hungarian colleague?

[Baker, in English with superimposed Hungarian translation] We looked over a wide circle of international relations. The minister will obviously give you an account of this. We talked both about conventional and strategic weapons, about the affairs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and we reviewed bilateral relations.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion of the chances of success for the Hungarian reform?

[Baker] In my opinion, they are excellent. We are very satisfied with the political and economic changes that are taking place in your country at present.

[Correspondent] Thank you. [end recording]

Spokesman on Bush University Speech

LD1207221789 Budapest MTI in English 1927 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—On Wednesday in Budapest, in the international press center, Laszlo Kovacs, secretary of state at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, presented the first Hungarian reactions to the speech of President George Bush at the Karl Marx University of Economics on Wednesday.

'In our evaluation, the speech accorded to our expectations, and precisely reflected the spirit of the talks which the President of the United States of America held yesterday evening and this morning with the Hungarian leaders. The spirit of the speech expressed support for

the reform process, and the concrete offers and proposals included in the speech contributed to the further advancement of the Hungarian reforms.

'We highly appreciate the mentioning in the speech of the Hungarian foreign political opening, and that Hungary is open towards the West and the entire world demonstrating this attitude by the dismantaling of the iron curtain, we believe that the concrete proposals included in the speech provide a good basis for further developing Hungarian-American cooperation, and the trade policy decisions, and the prospects of the future decisions, will improve the conditions of cooperation,' Mr Kovacs said, among other things.

Bush Talk With Young Democrats

LD1207222389 Budapest MTI in English 2026 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—Political, cultural and economic issues were also discussed at the meeting between President Bush and a 12-member group of young Hungarians, representatives of the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) it was stated at a press conference held on Wednesday in the Budapest international press centre.

In their view, the fact that six FIDESZ members were included in the delegation of young people indicates the weight of the organization. They also said that, according to the FIDESZ position, it would not be expedient for the United States to provide further financial loans to Hungary, but that it would be better to expand economic cooperation that is useful to both sides.

Opposition Groups' Comment on Talks

LD1207222889 Budapest MTI in English 2046 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—Representatives of the opposition organizations reported on their talks with President George Bush, on Wednesday in the Budapest international press centre.

They said that the ten Hungarian opposition personalities attending the informal discussion did not interpret a common view, but presented the positions of their own organizations. The brief introductory words of the American President expressed the idea as at earlier meetings, that he did not come to Poland and Hungary to incite conflict between the Eastern European states. Several participants to the meeting raised the issue of guarantees, namely how either economic or moral assistance can be provided to Hungary so that it not be merely 'the combination of a Western technology and an Eastern European ruling system', similarly to the seventies and eighties. They said they hold it extremely important that Western participation in Hungarian economy does not halt the process of transformation.

Opposition Groups' News Conference

LD1207204789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] [Presenter] Representatives of the opposition roundtable and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] met journalists in the press center set up in the Vigado. This provided an opportunity for them not only to report on the talks held with President Bush, but also to state their own views:

[Correspondent] What emerged here was something that was known before—the opposition roundtable is scarcely unified. This was also apparent from the fact that the Hungarian Social Democratic Party representative was not in its ranks at the talks held with President Bush. The background to this was that the opposition roundtable had called on the party to settle its internal differences within 3 weeks. However, after this the party's representative withdrew from the opportunity to meet the U.S. President.

A Soviet radio correspondent asked how they assessed the statement made by the U.S. President in Budapest, that after 40 years Hungary was returning to the traditional European value system. Tibor Vidos, representative of the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions, was of the view that the Soviet troops had brought liberation, but also the Stalinist system. And now, a break with this is finally taking place. The separation of the party, the state, and the army is taking place.

According to Karoly Vigh, president of the Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society, it is not possible to talk about liberation, but only about a Soviet type of dictatorship, which the majority of the people never accepted.

Sandor Keresztes, who represented the Christian Democratic People's Party, said that President Bush had emphasized the importance of joining Europe, for which, he added, freedom and social security are important.

Imre Konya said on behalf of the Independent Lawyers' Forum: It is necessary, finally, to admit that the post-1945 experiment has failed, but the current change, or attempt, is not directed against the Soviet Union, where, by the way, he added, they are struggling with similar problems.

By the way, the Christian Democratic People's Party representative, when replying to another question, urged the United States to offer Hungary support similar to the Marshall plan, since owing to its system of political relations, this country was omitted from this at the end of the forties.

Viktor Orban, on behalf of FIDESZ, noted that they had not asked at the talks for concrete financial assistance. As he said: They wanted to indicate to President Bush that

if the opposition were to get into power after free elections, it would bring greater foreign political openness, and mutually useful cooperation in Hungarian-U.S. relations.

To this, a correspondent from Radio Luxembourg asked Viktor Orban, why are they more aggressive than the other participants of the opposition roundtable. The FIDESZ representative replied: They are not aggressive, only they want to speak about everything. They are considered radical because they openly say, for example, that in their view the Yalta agreement has had its day, and that with a communist-led government it is not possible to get out of the current crisis.

Straub's Farewell

LD1307093489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Following his official visit to Hungary, U.S. President George Bush left Budapest this morning on his special aircraft. Mr Bush was seen off at Ferihegy Airport by Presidential Council President Bruno F. Straub, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] President Rezso Nyers, MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz, and Council of Ministers Chairman Miklos Nemeth.

In his farewell speech Presidential Council President Bruno F. Straub stated: I would like to stress that in the person of the President his Hungarian negotiation partners have become acquainted with a friend of our people, a leader who is interested in the fate of our nation. You will travel from Budapest to Paris, the Presidential Council president said, where you will participate in the summit of the most advanced countries. Your experiences in Hungary will surely be discussed there too. I ask you to inform your esteemed colleagues that our endeavors aiming at renewal are not of a tactical nature but represent the recognition of and adherence to the direction which is the only one for us.

In his reply President Bush freely expressed his gratitude for the cordial reception and declared that he felt throughout the deepening of the friendship of the Hungarian and U.S. peoples. He too stressed the importance of the Paris summit and the significance of Hungary's ability to join the European processes.

Air Force One took off soon after 0900.

Correction to 12 Jul News Briefing Item

WA1307164989

The following correction pertains to the item published in the 12 July East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 22, column two, subheaded "Leaders Hold News Conference": Change subhead to read: Spokesman Briefs Press on Talks (correcting identity of news conference speaker)

New English Radio Station To Broadcast 11 Jul

LD1007124789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Summary] A new radio station will begin operation, though only with trial broadcasts for the time being. Simultaneously with the Bush visit, tomorrow will see the launching of the Radio Bridge [Radiohid], which is a joint U.S.-Hungarian venture. It will broadcast regularly in the fall, perhaps at the beginning of next year, primarily but not exclusively for businessmen. The executive director, Gyorgy (Pamezanszki), was interviewed by Bea (Sarkany):

"[(Pamezanszki)] This is entirely a private venture, with no state backing. So the risk is enormous.

"[(Sarkany)] The Radio Bridge will broadcast in English during the three days of President Bush's visit. Being a commercial station, will you broadcast a lot of advertising and music?

"[(Pamezanszki)] There will not be as many advertisements as we had imagined. Primarily we would like to be a news and education network which maintains itself with advertising.

"[(Sarkany)] Who are the other participants in the Radio Bridge direction and planning?

"[(Pamezanszki)] The international capitalist group SAM [expansion unknown] has a 50 percent stake in the limited company. This is a Swedish-Canadian-American multinational concern. They have no radio involvement elsewhere; they expressly wish to invest their capital in this Radio Bridge. What they see in it is that the English language is a bridge and is ever more becoming so, particularly in commerce. They see that few people speak it in Hungary today, but statistics show that 80 percent of people would like to learn English.

"Broadcast will be on the VHF, in Western norms, on 102.1, a bit below the Radio Danubius. We shall not play much pop and rock, but music to appeal to businessmen, modern classical and jazz, as well as pop hits from some international radio stations. But not music from morning to night."

Trial Broadcast Begins

LD1107164489 Budapest MTI in English 1408 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—To mark the visit of US President George Bush, "Radio Bridge", a private English-language radio station, operating with Canadian and Swedish capital investment, began broadcasting at noon on Tuesday. The trial broadcast will last until noon July 13.

The new station mainly provides economic, political, cultural, and tourism information.

Regular broadcasts, mainly for foreign businessmen, are scheduled to begin at the end of the year, initially for 12 hours a day, and will be extended to 24 hours a day.

More on New English Station

AU1107154789 Paris AFP in English 1508 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Vienna, July 11 (AFP)—An English-language radio station, Radio Bridge, mainly intended for foreign businessmen, went on the air in Budapest Tuesday, the MTI Hungarian news agency reported.

The radio will broadcast a test service for three days to coincide with the visit Wednesday and Thursday of U.S. President George Bush.

A regular daily 12-hour service is due to start at the end of the year, and it will later be expanded to a 24-hour service, MTI said.

Radio Bridge, run as a joint venture by Swedish, Canadian, U.S. and Hungarian companies, will broadcast economic, political, cultural and tourist news, MTI said.

It will have an initial capital of one million florints (16,500 dollars).

Two U.S.-owned radio stations broadcasting to eastern Europe, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, last week announced they would be opening an information bureau in Budapest this summer.

On July 1, the first private television station there, Kanal Balaton, started broadcasting in Hungarian and German in the tourist Balaton Lake area.

MTVEurope To Transmit TV Programs to Hungary

LD1007104589 Budapest MTI in English 0910 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 10, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—MTV Europe, a broadcasting organization which transmits programmes via the Astra 14 telecommunication satellite, has agreed with the Hungarian telecommunications authority to the granting of licences for the reception, free of charge, of MTVE programmes in Hungary.

The only condition MTVE has stipulated concerning the reception of the 24-hour English-language light entertainment music programme in individual homes, hotels and by community and cable television systems is that the programme be broadcast simultaneously, in uncurtailed form, without adding to or substituting any of its parts. The duplication and publication of the picture and sound in any form is also forbidden.

With the arrival of MTVE, transmitted via the Astra satellite, and Sky, Super and TV5 already arriving via the Eutelsat F4 satellite, there are altogether four satellite channels licensed to be received in Hungary. However, an agreement on obtaining permission for the reception of German-language programmes has to be reached.

According to the Hungarian authority responsible for matters of telecommunications, it may, in the second half of this year, become possible to receive programmes through the Direct Broadcasting Satellites (DBS) system without having to obtain a preliminary licence in Hungary.

Limitation on U.S. Ambassador's Activities Cited

LD1107133689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1045 GMT 11 Jul 89

["Welcome, Mr President" program, presented by Elemer Csak, with Peter Lorincze, general secretary of the Economic Chamber, and political analyst Peter Rajcsani]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Csak] I do not want to create an embarrassing situation diplomatically, but as there has already been an open debate about Hungarian-U.S. relations in the press, I can mention, I can formulate, this question with an easy conscience. The extremely talented and ambitious U.S. ambassador, Mr Palmer, as the papers have also written, is so active that he is within an inch of interfering in Hungarian internal affairs. The NEW YORK TIMES has written that the economic bases of the Federation of Young Democrats were created by a U.S. foundation, and that the young politicians are trained in the United States. Evidently these examples lead a proportion of our public to formulate concern as to whether it is possible to conduct talks about equal rights when it is a question of two countries in very different groups.

[Rajcsani] Evidently it is as two sovereign countries that relations must evolve between Hungary and the United States. [passage omitted] It is a separate issue where international regulations—or rather the not-written-down, but tacit agreements, that has evolved with regard to ambassadors, or diplomats in general—draw the limits to the activity, the operation, of a diplomat. Understandably, taking into consideration U.S. interests, Ambassador Palmer—how should I say—represents these interests vigorously [eroteljesen] in Hungary, and consequently he functions in an extremely active manner in the realization of U.S. interests. However, he too, just as any other ambassador, must pay heed to the fact that fundamentally Hungarian political decision-makers would like to maintain a sovereign role for themselves. [passage omitted]

UK's Waldegrave Visits, Holds Talks

Meets With Nemeth, Horn

LD1107103189 Budapest MTI in English 1905 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 10 (MTI)—Willian Waldegrave, British minister of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, is currently visiting Hungary at the invitation of Laszlo Kovacs, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry.

At talks, the sides stressed their interest in developing political, economic, and cultural cooperation. The Hungarian side welcomed the expanding activity in Budapest of the British Council, and encouraged the British side to make its visa practice more flexible and to moderate visa charges. Mr Waldegrave said that Britain follows the Hungarian reform process with sympathy, and is ready to promote its success.

Mr Waldegrave met Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth on Monday. Discussions included preparations for the Hungarian-British prime ministerial working meeting, scheduled for December.

The British minister of state also met Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, who reported on the Bucharest conference of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, and the international connections of the Hungarian reform processes.

Kulcsar, Berecz Meet Waldegrave

LD1107165989 Budapest MTI in English 1447 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—On Tuesday, William Waldegrave, visiting British minister of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, met Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice, and Janos Berecz, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly.

Mr Waldegrave was informed about the transformation of the Hungarian legal system, the changing role of the National Assembly and the responsibilities of the parliamentary committees.

Waldegrave Meets Pozsgay, Departs

LD1107232589 Budapest MTI in English 1930 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—William Waldegrave, British minister of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, met Minister of State Imre Pozsgay on Tuesday. Mr Pozsgay detailed the Hungarian efforts aimed at creating a democratic constitutional state. The British minister of state indicated his country is ready to provide its related experiences. The politician especially stressed the importance of the series of Hungarian cultural programmes to be held in London in the autumn of 1989.

Prior to his leaving Budapest, Mr Waldegrave held a press conference and stressed: The government of Great Britain supports the steps taken to organize the Hungarian elections. He said he held talks with his host, Laszlo Kovacs, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, and met Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, several members of the Hungarian Government, and representatives of the opposition roundtable.

The British minister of state responsible for Eastern European affairs also said he had a favourable evaluation of the efforts that aim to extend the role of the private sector. He acknowledged that the road to the creation of a genuine market is long. Mr Waldegrave said that Hungarians require the introduction of fundamental reforms, according to his impressions. He indicated the British side is ready to hand over its experiences on the technical details of the elections, as the time available is relatively short.

Mr Waldegrave said that, in his view, the negotiating sides in Hungary should clarify between themselves the conditions of holding free elections. The agreement to be reached on this will naturally be acknowledged by the British Government, the minister of state said and added: London appreciates the Hungarian measures taken so far. We do not wish to belittle the road covered so far, and have reacted to it, Mr Waldegrave said. The dividing line would, however, be the creation of a government which comes about as a result of genuinely free elections, he stressed.

In answer to a question, Mr Waldegrave referred to the danger of a roll-back in Eastern Europe, and was of the opinion that it would have an unfavourable effect not only on the countries concerned, but on the whole of Europe.

Mr Waldegrave also said that during his talks in Budapest the Hungarian side pressed for the acceleration of the granting of visas. He held out the prospect to consider this, and welcomed that more and more Hungarian citizens are requesting visas from the British authorities.

The British politician left Budapest on Tuesday afternoon.

Beck Promotes Foreign Capital Investment

LD1207124189 Budapest MTI in English 0842 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—Tamas Beck, minister of trade, and some senior ministry officials, met representatives of Hungarian parties, movements, and organizations on Tuesday.

As Mr Beck put it, the meeting was aimed at familiarizing the participants about the activity, chief aims, and available means of the ministry and, if possible, winning their support for the ministry's plans.

Mr Beck spoke about the legal, institutional, and economic conditions and prospects of involving foreign working capital. As an example, he mentioned that Spain, Portugal, and Ireland had made an economic upswing that way. The idea that they had 'sold out' their economies was never raised in these countries. Yet such views emerge frequently in Hungary, and the ministry is flooded with anonymous letters and abusive phone calls.

Nevertheless, between the two world wars, 23-24 percent of the capital stock of Hungary was held by foreigners, and the efficiency of those times sets an example even today.

Addressing difficulties in CMEA cooperation, Mr Beck said that transition to dollar-accounting trade would initially imply a temporary annual loss of 2,000 million dollars to Hungary, since imports would gain importance and Hungary does not have a sufficient stock of exportable goods.

After the briefing, some members of the alternative organizations expressed the view that it was an exaggeration to emphasize temporary losses, and quoted the managers of some large companies as saying that an immediate transition would be advantageous for them. On the score of the trade law, they stressed the need not to replace state monopolies by private ones, and to set up organizations and institutions to monitor fair business practices.

The sides discussed the topic of tourism, and especially the planned world expo. Some contributors said the country was too poor to host the event. Imre Gellai, deputy minister of trade, invited the participants to another consultation to be held later on on the concept of the development of tourism.

Nemeth Toasts Australia's Hawke During Visit

AU0707145389 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Jul 89 p 2

[Toast given by Premier Miklos Nemeth at festive dinner for visiting Australian Premier Robert Hawke in the Parliament Building in Budapest on 30 June: "We Appreciate Australia's National Minority Policy"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Prime Minister! Dear Mrs Hawke! Dear Australian guests! Ladies and Gentlemen! It is a great pleasure and honor for us to welcome Prime Minister Hawke, his lovely wife, and the members of his entourage here in Budapest. Your excellency is the highest-ranking Australian guest that has visited Hungary so far, as no other federal premier has paid an official visit to Hungary before. I hope that during your short visit you will have the opportunity to gain direct experience of Hungary's development and its current situation. Your visit is an outstanding phase in the development of our bilateral relations.

Mr Prime Minister! Hungarian-Australian relations are settled, and the interest in each other is increasing in all areas. The increasingly frequent mutual visits help us to clarify each other's situations and intentions. The level of information about each other is strengthening our political willingness to cooperate. It is a welcome fact that you have done a lot in Australia for the development of our bilateral relations.

We are particularly gladdened by the considerable and promising progress that has recently taken place in our economic and trade relations. We have mutual interests in further developing our trade relations, in deepening our economic cooperation, and in introducing advanced market forms. We see good opportunities for cooperation between Hungarian and Australian small-scale and medium-sized enterprises, for the establishment of mixed enterprises, and for joint economic ventures on third markets. We would welcome the direct participation of Australian working capital in the Hungarian economic life.

All this will hopefully accelerate in the wake of our present talks. We have agreed to mutually encourage our economic background for cooperation.

Extremely positive Hungarian-Australian relations emerged at the multilateral trade forums. Hungary is a member of the "Cairns group" that was established at the initiative of the Australian Government as an organization aimed at promoting the free development of global agricultural trade, and we are deeply interested in this.

Mr Prime Minister! In the past 2 centuries, Australia has given a new homeland to many immigrants, including many Hungarians. These Hungarians create a bridge between our two countries and connect us, because they know both countries and speak both languages, and thus find their way in cases of difficulties. We highly appreciate Australia's policy toward national minorities and regard it as exemplary, a policy that helps the minorities to preserve and foster their roots and bonds, fully guarantees the preservation of their national characteristics, and seeks to integrate rather than assimilate the immigrants.

Mr Prime Minister! During your visit, you had an opportunity to see that Hungary is living in a period of historical changes today and is struggling with the difficulties of changing the social, economic, and political model. There is agreement concerning the fact that we need economic and social conditions for the development of our country, and also comprehensive changes based on these conditions. We set out to fundamentally renew our country. Hungary is an open country with a free flow of people and ideas, a country which fully guarantees the implementation of human rights. In economic life, this means the creation of conditions for a market economy and, concerning the social and political structure, the creation of institutions of a democratic constitutional state. The pillars of this new model are currently being built. In our search for ways, we rely on the historical traditions of the Hungarian people and on the lessons of the past 40 years and more.

Mr Prime Minister! Ladies and Gentlemen! During our talks, we agreed that promising trends are increasing in international relations. It is in our common interest to make this process a lasting one.

In the flow of global processes, part of the essence of our foreign policy efforts is to do our utmost in order to strengthen the interdependence of the peoples of our continent and of the world at large. Therefore, in a national framework we are making use of every way and method to help the efforts that serve the process of detente.

We are deeply convinced that the fulfillment of the Helsinki process is decisive for the future of Europe, and its positive effect will be felt all over the world. Recognizing this, Hungary is doing everything in its power to promote the East-West dialogue and the cause of interstate multilateral cooperation, thus serving peace, security, and development.

We believe that small countries like Hungary and medium-size powers could do a lot to strengthen confidence in each other. In our view, this can be achieved through a lot of small steps, because rigid political borders have separated countries from one another for decades, and it is impossible to dissipate the accumulated suspicion by means of quick and spectacular steps. This patience is also a very important factor in Hungarian-Australian relations.

We highly appreciate the Australian foreign policy initiatives which have a particularly favorable effect on the processes under way in Asia and the Pacific area, and on finding solutions to controversial international problems; these initiatives also contribute to the settling of regional conflicts.

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister! Dear Mrs Hawke! Ladies and Gentlemen! Although the huge geographical distance and the different alliance system separate us, the fact that we have identical or similar views on many international political and world economic issues connects our two countries. It is in the interest of both our countries to broaden our cooperation, and this will contribute to the cause of international peace and security.

We firmly believe that your current visit will again strengthen our present cordial relations, and will also outline the new direction of development and progress.

Allow me to express my best wishes to the people and Government of Australia, to Your Excellency personally, to your lovely wife, and to all of our Australian guests.

Let us toast the successes of the people and the Government of Australia, and the health of our dear friends here.

Nyers Receives Australian Parliamentarian

LD1007141789 Budapest MTI in English 1319 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 10 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party [as received], met Kerry Sibraa, president of the Federal Parliament of Australia, in Budapest on Monday.

Delegation Departs

LD1107145489 Budapest MTI in English 1305 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—The Australian parliamentry delegation, headed by Senator Kerry Sibraa, president of the Senate of the Australian federal parliament, left Hungary on Tuesday.

The delegation met Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and held talks with Matyas Szuros, president of the National Assembly, Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, Tamas Beck, minister of Trade, Zoltan Gal, under secretary of state at the Ministry of the Interior, and Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT).

1989 Gas Supply Agreement Signed With USSR

LD1107194189 Budapest MTI in English 1727 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI) - The 1989 agreement on Soviet gas supply to Hungary was signed in Budapest on Tuesday [11 July], by Jozsef Toth, general director of Mineralimpex, and Vladimir Mikhaylov, general director of Moscow's Soyuzgazexport Association.

Under the contract, Soviet gas deliveries will amount to 5,900 million cubic metres, 12 percent more than last year. The increase is chiefly due to the start of deliveries under the Yamburg agreement, in return for Hungarian construction work in the Soviet Union.

The agreement on Soviet supplies of liquefied Soviet propane-butane gas to Hungary in 1989, signed last October, is for a relatively modest quantity of 20,000 tonnes to be delivered by rail.

Hungary was not affected by the loss of liquid gas deliveries caused by the Ufa gas explosion a week ago.

Medgyessy Discusses GDR, Italy Visits

LD1107232689 Budapest MTI in English 2232 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy held talks in the GDR and in Italy. Mr Medgyessy returned to Budapest on Tuesday.

Discussing his visit to Italy in an interview with MTI, Mr Medgyessy said that at talks this year with representatives of the Italian, Yugoslav and Austrian Governments, he had initiated the creation of contacts closer than at present. This is justified by the natural geographic proximity of these countries, the common historical traditions, and the relations created by the minorities living in the region. The initiative was received with support, and the Italian negotiating partners are interested in establishing closer cooperation. Thus, further discussions could be held about this, at which issues of

developing economic cooperation could receive emphasis, and talks also held on the fostering of common cultural traditions. The development of relations also has considerable political importance. It would be unique in the world to create closer cooperation in a region of the world where one country is a member of NATO, the other of the Warsaw Treaty, the third is non-aligned, and the fourth a neutral state. The Italian negotiating partners expressly received the Hungarian initiative favourably, and even accepted to take an initiating stand in certain issues at the Common Market in the interest of furthering the Hungarian affairs.

With respect to his talks in the GDR, Mr Medgyessy said economic relations between the two countries are developing satisfactorily, and the differing views that have come about in issues of economic development do not have a detrimental effect on these. Trade turnover with the GDR has further expanded, which cannot be said in the case of several other socialist countries. Consultations such as these are necessary precisely because of this in the interest of avoiding misunderstandings, and reciprocally to set forth economic development plans. The Hungarian Government strives to avoid unnecessary debates, and to clear up misunderstandings, and this had been one of the most important goals of his current talks.

Alongside this, several other concrete economic issues were also included in his talks in the GDR. For instance, the conditions under which the number of Hungarians working in the GDR can be increased. The Hungarian economic leadership had earlier initiated the conclusion of an inter-governmental agreement of this nature, but the talks came to a stand-still. Now, however, a preliminary agreement has successfully been concluded, and so the relevant bodies of the two countries have received authorization to prepare an inter-government agreement.

Mr Medgyessy also had talks on the common utilization of engineering industry capacities that were earlier utilized in military production but which are now freed. It seems that cooperation has been created in this field, too.

More Reportage on Dam Issue With CSSR

Compensation Topic Skirted

LD1207160889 Budapest MTI in English
1422 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—For the time being, Hungary doesn't want to talk about damages to be paid to Czechoslovakia in the event of a final cancellation of the now suspended construction of the contoversial Nagymaros dam on the Danube. Rather, it wants to find a [word indistinct] the environmental interests of both countries and help to minimalize the actual economic damages caused by the cancellation.

Saying that, Mr Laszlo Udvari, Hungarian Government commissioner for the Nagymaros construction, told MTI-ECONEWS that the Hungarian side is counting on the readiness of the Czechoslovaks for a compromise.

Mr Udvari confirmed to MTI-ECONEWS that he feels Prague estimates about the Czechoslovak construction costs now being quoted as a basis for damages—40-50 billion Czechoslovak crowns—are exaggerated. Mr Udvari's opinion is that construction costs on the Czechoslovak side are no more than 20 billion crowns.

The Austrian news agency APA carried an interview on Tuesday with Mr Udvari where he first mentioned these contradictory estimates.

Scientists To Discuss Project

LD1307085189 Budapest MTI in English
0642 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—On July 17, Monday, Hungarian and Czechoslovak scientific teams are to start talks on the Nagymaros water barrage in Budapest. On the basis of the eventual results, the governmental delegations are scheduled to meet after July 24.

On this score, Istvan Lang, general secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA), said:

The Hungarian delegation includes three negotiations groups that are in charge of ecology and water quality, geology and seismology, and summaries. The groups are composed of MTA experts and the representatives of ecological and environmentalist organizations.

Our work groups regard the MTA documents handed over to the Czechoslovak side on June 26 as the basis of negotiations. The documents analyze the environmental, econological, water quality, and seismological effects of both the completion and the abandonment of the project. They concluded that the currently available scientific knowledge would be insufficient for a realistic assessment of ecological risks. It would take some years to carry out the missing research work. In our view, the Nagymaros project should not be continued until an appropriate scientific background has been created. The Gabcikovo project is of continuous operation, so it lays a smaller burden on the environment. Its operation may provide useful practical information on changes in water quality and many other issues. Practical experience is badly needed since the water barrage would make such a powerful impact on the environment that we cannot assess its consequences on the basis of mere calculations and suppositions. The scientific and comparative international analyses to be carried during the suspension of Nagymaros works for some years may give a reassuring answer whether the risk to construct the power plant under the original plans can be assumed, Mr Lang said.

Nyers, Grosz Receive Japanese Envoy

LD0607192389 Budapest MTI in English 1138 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 6 (MTI)—On Thursday, Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP, received the introductory visit of Eiji Seki, new ambassador of Japan to Hungary.

Jewish Congress President Continues Visit

Receives Award, Meets Nemeth

LD1107135789 Budapest MTI in English 1231 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—The Hungarian presidential council has awarded the ruby-studded Order of Banner of the Hungarian People's Republic to U.S. businessman and public personality Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, for his contribution to the development of Hungarian economic and financial relations abroad and Hungarian-U.S. business links.

The medal was presented by Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, on Tuesday.

XXX

Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth met Edgar Bronfman in the parliament building on Tuesday.

Nyers, Grosz Meet Bronfman

LD1207193589 Budapest MTI in English 1804 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MT)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, met on Wednesday in Budapest Edgar M. Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Council. Mr Bronfman is visiting Budapest on the occasion of opening the council's Budapest office.

Status for Returnees From Austria Changed

AU1307083389 Budapest MTI in English 2005 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, 12 Jul, (MTI)—Should Hungarian citizens who have for shorter or longer periods illegally stayed in Austria decide to return to Hungary, they can expect a fast, flexible and liberal settling of affairs, said Ferenc Balint, head of the passport department of the Ministry of the Interior, in a statement to MTI.

Mr Balint said that the Hungarian authorities learned on Wednesday of the decision of the Austrian Ministry of the Interior, under which state supply for Hungarian citizens requesting refuge in Austria will be discontinued. Mr Balint said the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior does not at all hold this decision to be incorrect, but see it as a logical step. The Austrian authorities announced, when the new Hungarian world passport was introduced, they would not grant 'political refugee' status as they do not believe anyone will be persecuted in Hungary for political views with the progress of the transformation process. It should also be taken into consideration that the funding of the several hundred Hungarians in the Austrian refugee camps is considerable and it is understandable if Austria wishes to discontinue it. It is also understandable if, as Hungary facilitates traveling abroad, the target countries, including Austria, are to incorporate brakes into refugee and immigration policies accordingly.

The Hungarian Ministry of the Interior is expecting a tense situation to result from the Austrian decision, as almost simultaneously it received information that many Hungarian citizens have enquired about returning and expect Hungarian legal measures to be eased. Such cases will be judged under the currently valid decree of legal force, but in the spirit of the bills of emigration and immigration, traveling abroad and passports, which have been accepted by the Council of Ministers and are to be put to social debate. The valid legal measure decrees that the unlawful prolongation of staying abroad is a summary offence, and penalties may include a fine and a ban on traveling abroad for a maximum five years. However, in view of the draft bills under preparation, people returning can expect liberal evaluation, as bills expected to be submitted to Parliament this autumn will include clarification of the issue.

If the Hungarian citizens staying in Austria illegally, did not commit a crime in Hungary prior to leaving the country, but merely unlawfully prolonged their stay abroad beyond the 90 days determined in the valid legal measure, they will face no criminal legal consequences and may apply at the border stations with valid passports.

Hungarian citizens who do not have valid travel documents may apply to the Hungarian foreign representation in Vienna. If they can prove Hungarian citizenship, or show likelihood of such, permits to return may be requested.

Bush Visit, Economic Proposals Surveyed

Official Views U.S. Package

LD1207184289 Warsaw PAP in English
1625 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—Speaking to PAP, director of the Foreign Department in the Finance Ministry Wladyslaw Czulno discussed President George Bush's proposed assistance to Poland. He said among other things:

We are witnessing an evident qualitative change in the approach of the U.S. Administration to our economic problems. Speaking at Hamtramck President Bush announced, among other moves, the opening of OPIC (Organisation for Private Investment Credits) guarantees. These guarantees would be given by the U.S. Administration to businessmen wishing to invest in Poland. We can expect that when President Bush is back home from his European trip, the U.S. Congress will start debating this law.

A decision has already been taken to restore preferential tariffs for Poland which in practice means large exemptions for goods exported from Poland and major increase of the profitability of Polish exports.

President Bush also promised Poland 100 million dollars from the government agency for international development. U.S. policy in this respect towards other states shows that this is not always a one-time aid and may be granted systematically.

A considerable part of Bush's proposals is connected with a broadly understood process of solving the problems of Polish debt. In my opinion the Western viewpoint is the following: If Poland gets IMF acceptance for its adjustment programme this will open up real prospects for a new approach to the problem of credits. These would consist in getting a stand-by credit which is remarkable for its interest rate which is by 2-3 pts lower than current interest on credit market. These credits could amount to about 880 million dollars annually.

Simultaneously, at the moment when the IMF approves the adjustment programme, the World Bank would cretainly open long-term credits (17 years with 5-year grace period) for pro-exports investment in Poland. These involve some 10 large ventures in the field of chemical, engineering, light, and precision industries. The adoption of the adjustment programe might also result in world bank credits for development of food economy, modernisation of power engineering, transport, and telecommunications, that is industries important in Poland's economic infrastructure which lags far behind that of the leading countries.

In the opinion of the IMF a key ingredient of the adjustment programme is quick restoration of internal equilibrium, liberalisation of prices, privatisation and cuts in subsidies.

Considering U.S. President's speech in this context, we can say that he promised to support the efforts leading to the adoption of the adjustment programme. But he made it clear that economic assistance cannot be a substitute for the Poles' own effort. President Bush also promised to ask the G-7 countries to help Poland by quick and significant rescheduling of the Polish debt and the figure quoted was five billion dollars.

Commenting on this Czulno said: In previous years a number of successive agreements on rescheduling the government-guaranteed credits put the repayment off. In effect of these agreements the sum left to be repayed in 1989 is exactly 5,229 million dollars. It would be very good not only to have the repayment of this sum deffered but also to sign one uniform agreement on this with governments of creditor countries because now the government of creditor countries with whom Poland has separate agreements have hands formally tied and cannot guarantee Polish credits. A collective uniform agreement could eliminate this barrier.

For Poland the statement of President Bush is a vital offer of support for solutions we are seeking. Here too, however, much depends on the IMF acceptance of the adjustment programme.

Special significance is associated with George Bush's statement that he will extend to us technical assistance. I think that as far as the United States is concerned it would be first of all easing the COCOM regulations which limit the access of countries which are not politically allied with the USA to the latest technological and technical achievements. Significant is also the announcement of a 10-million dollar aid for the development of the private sector.

I also think that the attachment of Poles to the historical Krakow and the promise of help in rescuing the city from ecological degradation is a well-chosen and very concrete, and I hope also successful form of cooperation in saving the European cultural heritage.

Olechowski on Bush Visit, Talks

LD1207184989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Interview with Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski by unidentified correspondent on 12 July; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Minister, President George Bush left Poland yesterday. Could we ask you to share your impressions of that visit with the viewers?

[Olechowski] It was first and foremost, from our Polish viewpoint, a kind of closing—if one can put it like that—of a fairly active period over the past number of months of our international offensive in the foreign policy sphere. The prevacation stage is ending, in fact, on this strong chord: the full restoration of the always good

relations between Poland and the United States, as we know, after a break of the last 10-12 years. At the moment those relations are again fully normal, with the prospect that they will develop further. Perhaps it's worth adding that this is also important in the broad process of East-West dialogue. Polish-U.S. relations are certainly a good contribution to that process.

I'd like to add the words of high praise, which we heard many times from the President and those accompanying him, regarding respect for the innovatory changes taking place in our country, for the political culture of our nation; and finally, what he stressed very frequently, the recognition of our leaders, especially General Jaruzelski, for his determination to continue those processes, which are leading us and our country in the direction of a Polish model of parliamentary democracy.

I would add a brief experience of my own: I had the opportunity to conduct parallel talks with the minister of foreign affairs, Secretary of State Mr Baker. We held plenary talks and more individual, private talks. I'd like to say that the review of bilateral relations was very positive.

[Correspondent] Minister, I think that Poles are particularly interested in the economic aspect of this visit. Do we sense a new quality in economic relations with the United States?

[Olechowski] I don't think we have returned to the postwar period, when—as we recall—the United States showered us with dollars to rebuild a destroyed Europe. Things do not happen like that today. Yet we want the West to create definite conditions, conditions favorable for the development of the Polish economy; for the investment of foreign capital and foreign technology in our country; and what President Bush declared, that at the upcoming summit of the seven most industrialized Western countries, he will try to unite them in favor of some kind of concept of economic, technological support for Poland, is very important. The matters which we still have to resolve at the moment—I'm thinking here of the conclusion of our talks with the IMF, the World Bank; the creation by those organizations of a certain umbrella, independent of the credits which those organizations grant—this is a very important element, in which the Americans and the countries of Western Europe can help us.

Finally, the matter of our debts, on the subject of which the President also declared his far-reaching support. If we succeed, in line with the hopes which we have, with the talks which we are holding in the Paris Club, in working out a new model to defer the payments of these credits until more convenient conditions for us, that will be an enormous help to our economy. However, I would like to supplement that economic assessment with a personal impression, and that is that I perceive from the President's remarks and those of his associates that they are willing to help us but remind us that we ought to make the main effort ourselves.

Onyszkiewicz Comments on Visit

LD1207214189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] In statement to the press, Janusz Onyszkiewicz has said that President Bush's visit has once more proved that the Polish nation has friends in the West on whom it may count. It has also created hopes that the historic chance for a peaceful transformation of a country in our part of the world from totalitarianism to democracy will not be wasted, Janusz Onyszkiewicz said in a statement which was passed on to the press.

Visit Brings 'Political Capital'

AU1307131289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jul 89 pp 1, 2

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski commentary: "On a Good Road"]

[Text] Asked about the main purpose of President George Bush's visit to Poland at Monday's [10 July] news conference, Secretary of State James Baker replied that the most important thing was to demonstrate American support for the sociopolitical changes that are taking place in our country, as well as to submit an offer of broader cooperation that could help Poland with its difficulties.

As hospitable hosts, we can say that that is a lot. However, as realists, we should view this assistance in perspective. We should discard wild illusions, as we have always done in TRYBUNA LUDU, and that is also the way that Wieslaw Gornicki, the State Council chairman's spokesman, behaved at his news conference yesterday [10 July]. He said that the "days of giving presents ended a long time ago" and that only "cold calculations" matter today.

So, in terms of "cold calculations," it pays for the United States to "invest" in Poland, and to invest a certain amount of political capital in particular. Washington realized perfectly well that a Poland of political, social, and economic reforms and a pluralist democratic Poland is a valuable gain for a Europe that is built on the foundations of a common home. Wojciech Jaruzelski provided the best exposition of this thesis in the welcoming speech that he delivered before the Sejm and the Senate.

He said: "Poland is a sovereign country, a large country, on a European scale. Its stability and security are inextricably linked to the situation in the rest of the continent. They constitute a vital element in the relations between East and West. Therefore, I think I would not be exaggerating if I say that what is good for Poland is good for the peace of Europe and the world."

President George Bush echoed this view in his speech at the Polish Parliament when he said: "East and West have arrived at the end of one era and the beginning of another," and citing Jaruzelski, he added that the positive changes in our country had impacted on the entirety of East-West relations.

One cannot fail to note the fact that all the speeches that Bush has delivered before Poles and Americans as well as the talks that he has had have contained words of sincere support for those who have created the Polish changes and for General Jaruzelski in particular.

As one U.S. diplomat told me: "Is it not an expression of support that the President has come to Warsaw before waiting for a president to be elected or a government to be formed?" It really matters to the Americans that there is continuity in the process of change without upsetting the stabilization and the balance of forces that guarantee that the achievements of the "roundtable" are lasting.

That goal of Bush's visit has already been achieved, although Tuesday's [11 July] visit to Gdansk may still provide further confirmation. In America, Poland such as it is and with the changes that are taking place in it appears—alongside the Soviet Union and Hungary—as an element contributing to the development of new international relations that are based on agreements concerning disarmament and the development of cooperation.

The rest, however, belongs to a sphere of Western calculations that are, unfortunately, different from the ideas of some Poles who are counting on a "fairy godmother." The phrase used by James Baker is the dominant one in these calculations: "If you need help, help yourself first."

I need these words first of all to dispel wild illusions and second, to remind people that the Americans do not think that they are doing Poland a favor. It is good to know that there are no insinuations being made about this that would make us less than partners.

Following the talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, two economic agreements were signed and a further agreement announcing that cultural centers would be opened in both countries. The economic agreements envisage, among other things, the postponement of capital (debt) interest payments for a period of 5 years, which can amount to about $940 million a year. This means that we will be able to allocate this money for additional imports of goods that facilitate the expansion of export-oriented production. The United States has allocated $100 million for the promotion of production and investment in Poland by its small-scale industry. Krakow will receive $15 million for the protection of the natural environment, which is increasingly being considered a common issue by all states.

If the U.S. Senate approves the House of Representatives resolution submitted by Bush, then we will also receive the privilege of lower tariffs on Polish exports to the United States. The rest depends on the American Administration's activities at the World Bank, the IMF, and the Paris Club, where, if other partners follow Washington's example, we will be able to receive further debt repayment concessions.

The course of President Bush's visit on Monday [10 July] indicates that Polish-U.S. relations are on a good road. This applies to a better understanding of our reality, support for stabilization and those who have brought it about, as well as for further democratic reforms that will impact positively on the needs of international coexistence and cooperation.

The author of this article found that the behavior of the two statesmen indicated that there is much mutual respect and sympathy. Television enabled the whole world to see this—at the airport, the Belvedere Palace, the U.S. Embassy, and in the Sejm. The final words of the President's speech in the Sejm building were: "I salute Gen Jaruzelski for his leadership," and that is more than the customary courtesy displayed by a guest toward his host, and more than a diplomatic duty....

Visit To 'Lay New Foundations'

AU1307124589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jul 89 pp 1, 2

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski commentary: "Warsaw's Warm Welcome"]

[Text] The blistering heat of Sunday evening may have lulled U.S. President George Bush into thinking that he was still back home. The weather in Washington was equally as hot.

Warsaw greeted the American leader with the warmth of its summer and its warm wishes for the fruitful discussions which can contribute to the development of political and economic cooperation between Poland and the United States. President Bush is the fourth U.S. President since World War II to officially visit Poland. Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter came here before him. Bush last visited Poland in September 1987, just under 2 years ago, though at that time he was welcomed in his capacity as U.S. vice president.

The current presidential visit is taking place at the invitation of Wojciech Jaruzelski, the chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, the Polish leader with whom the United States and the world identify the process of profound social, political, and economic reforms now taking place in Poland. Wojciech Jaruzelski greets the U.S. President on his arrival, by recalling this process of reforms. He talks of the causal links between this process and the new political climate

in the international arena and of the way that the philosophy of antagonism is being replaced by a philosophy of rapprochement and cooperation.

President Bush reciprocates these words of welcome by reminiscing about his first visit to Poland, but he also talks about the way he and the Americans see the Polish reality. According to him this reality is creating good conditions for Polish-American cooperation, for "cooperation which ought to be put into motion."

Both welcoming speeches echo the working character of the visit. The large entourage which has accompanied the President to Warsaw testifies to this. Among these people are Secretary of State James Baker and General Brent Scowcroft, the National Security Advisor. The official delegation consists of 20 people. Apart from these people, there are another 57 advisors and representatives of the U.S. Administration.

Those who welcomed the American party and those who will be participating in the Polish-American negotiations on Monday, form a cross section of people who represent the Polish nation: Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski with the members of the Polish Government, various party and political leaders, "Solidarity," the National Trade Union Confederation, the Sejm, and the Senate. President Bush's wife Barbara, learned with pleasure that she is to be the guest of General Jaruzelski's wife, whose name is also Barbara. There was also another Barbara at the airport, namely, the wife of Tadeusz Olechowski, Polish minister of foreign affairs.

Thus the visit of the 41st U.S. President has begun. It will encompass talks which are to lay new foundations for Polish-American cooperation. What is needed are foundations which will help in overcoming the difficulties our country is experiencing, and help in the construction of a new Europe based on mutual trust and understanding. This is the opinion expressed by all the American correspondents present at the airport. The creme de la creme of reporters are here. Among the 250 journalists present, who are accredited to the White House, there are also top television presenters, such as, Peter Jennings of ABC, Dan Rather of CBS, and Tom Brokaw of NBC. They transmitted their coverage reports from Warsaw airport directly to the United States using their satellite dishes. The CNN television network, the fourth political television network in America, has also been busy broadcasting non-stop news bulletins from Warsaw. From my talks with the American correspondents it is clear that they see the American President's visit as momentous and historic.

Jaruzelski Appeals to Paris Economic Summit

LD1207170589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] A message by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the State Council, concerning the help necessary to implement all the structural changes and fundamental reforms in the Polish economy, was transmitted last week to the head of seven most industrialized states of the world, as well as to the EEC authorities. As a result, those problems will be the subject of a discussion during the Paris summit meeting on 14 and 15 July. An agreement on coordinated measures to help Poland economically is expected. Wojciech Jaruzelski has requested that Francois Mitterand, the president of France, as the meeting's host, present Polish needs and expectations and also that he recommend them to the heads of governments and states taking part in the meeting. The text of the message will be published in tomorrow's press.

PZPR Politburo Discusses Pact Talks Results

LD1207205289 Warsaw PAP in English 1852 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC Central Committee Political Bureau during today's meeting reviewed the social, political and economic situation in Poland. It acquainted itself with the state of preparations for the 13th plenary meeting of the PUWP CC.

Members of the Political Bureau was briefed on the course and results of the debates of the Political Consultative Committee of states members of the Warsaw Treaty.

The Political Bureau acquainted itself with the course and results of President George Bush's visit to Poland.

'Anti-Polish Revisionism' in FRG Noted

AU1107080289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jul 89 pp 1,2

[Commentary signed "TL": "The Growing Anti-Polish Revisionism in the FRG"]

[Text] Polish public opinion, as well as this newspaper, were resolute and hopeful supporters of the glimmers of an opportunity which promised a lasting breakthrough, as it seemed, in the relations between Poland and the FRG. The improvement of these relations is, in our eyes, a crucial factor contributing to the structure of the common European home. A lasting and full normalization of Polish-FRG relations would have had more than the merely symbolic meaning of the current year, which is the 50th anniversary of the German onslaught on Poland, and the ensuing World War II, which swept away the lives of 50 million people, 6 million of these being Polish citizens.

We continue to emphasize, that the sole basis for a full normalization of our mutual relations must be the abandonment, now and for ever more, of all German pretensions to Polish territory, in accordance with the treaty of the 7 December 1970. In essence, the FRG must not seek

to undermine the territorial contours of post-war Europe, whose shaping and lasting quality is an important factor of security for all nations.

Poland has always exhibited a good deal of goodwill when it has approached the difficult question of trying to secure a lasting improvement of relations with the FRG. It does not seek to deny that the other side has also shown a large measure of goodwill. We were not put off when, several times in the past, our relations were at a difficult impasse or were in the doldrums. The results of the FRG foreign minister's visit to Warsaw in January 1988 were noted with our customary good will in trying to achieve an agreement and find solutions to the conflicting questions. Warsaw and Bonn announced the renewal of increased efforts to try and achieve the fundamental breakthrough in mutual relations, and this breakthrough was to be endorsed by Chancellor Kohl's visit to Poland.

Over 18 months have passed since the time of that visit. All through 1988, working groups from both foreign ministries have been locked in negotiations, and since February of this year there have been seven rounds of talks between the plenipotentiaries of the heads of the two governments. In the last few days Bonn has officially announced that the date of the chancellor's Polish visit has been postponed yet again. The talks which were to lead to an agreement are now at an impasse. As regards contacts at the highest levels with Poland, the FRG now finds itself at the tail-end of all the Western countries. What is more, one could be led to surmise that the FRG, while increasing its contacts with the other countries of the Warsaw Pact, is intentionally avoiding Warsaw....

In the last few days, we have been a witness to an embarrassing political spectacle along the banks of the Rhine. At the inspiration of the federal government, hypocritical rumors have been circulated which purport to say, that there can be no development and agreement with Poland while Poland is supposedly internally unstable. These pretexts have been exposed for the sham that they are by the recent actions of the Western superpowers, representatives of the erstwhile anti-Hitler coalition. The internal situation in Poland did not deter the British prime minister from receiving Wojciech Jaruzelski, nor did it prevent the French president from visiting Poland, nor has it deterred the U.S. President's imminent visit to Poland in the next few days.

One cannot avoid getting the impression that Bonn will try to use any pretext in order to talk down to the Poles "from a position of strength," be it even economic strength, and to try and force upon us concessions which the interests of the growing might and swelling pride of the FRG might dictate. It is not by pure accident that many West European and American commentators have noticed a new version of argumentation in the "spirit of Rappallo" currently circulating in the FRG, as well as other understandings which circulated in inter-war Europe and which sought to undermine the Polish raison d'etat.

Nevertheless, last week we were witness to a further elaboration of the mechanisms of Bonn's game against the Poles and Polish vital interests. During the congress of the revisionist community of "Schlesier's," which took place in Hanover under the slogan "For Our Silesia," the representatives of the government yet again voiced slogans directed at the territorial integrity of the Polish state. They maintain that from the legal point of view, Poland cannot feel itself master of one third of its territories.

The main speaker was Theo Waigel, the federal minister of finance and chairman of the Bavarian Christian Social Union (CSU). Here are crucial excerpts of his program speech:

"The German question also includes the matter of the East German territories beyond the Odra and Nysa rivers.... The German reich did not perish with the capitulation of the German Wehrmacht on 8 May 1945. There is no binding legal-international instrument which cuts away from the German Reich its eastern territories. The eastern treaties have not changed the international-legal situation of Germany.... They are solely treaties which refute the use of force, they are not treaties concerning the recognition of borders.... Until there is a peace treaty the German question will remain, legally, politically, and historically wide open.... I refute the suggestion that the question of the unification of Germany is dependent on the agreement of our neighbors. At the present moment there are no signs that Gorbachev will allow the Germans the right to decide their own matters.... The state and public authorities have an obligation to ensure that place names appearing in public publications are as they legally should be.... That is why Danzig is Danzig and not Gdansk, and Breslau is Breslau and not Wroclaw...."

Putting the question of boundaries and the undermining of the final character of the territorial integrity of our state on the center stage of Polish relations in the year which reminds us of the 50th anniversary of the German attack on Poland speaks volumes about Bonn's profuse declarations of its readiness to reach an agreement with the Poles. It is no mere accident that in the last few days the majority of the Bundestag rejected a proposal by the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] which called on the FRG to accept the existing borders in Europe, which include the border along the Odra and Nysa rivers, as well as the border between the GDR and the FRG. Additionally, Geissler, the secretary general of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] in a public speech in Bonn firmly reiterated the "legal" existence of the German Reich in its 1937 boundaries, and expressed the hope that the German Silesians might one day "return to their fatherland."

It is obvious that we are seeing conscious revisionist activity on the part of the leading Christian-Democratic politicians and members of the FRG Government. Theo Waigel is not some pan-German demagogue on the extreme margins of German political life, but the political heir of Strauss, and he is the federal minister of finance. According to protocol, after the chancellor and the foreign minister, he is the third most important person in the FRG Government. He is the chairman of the CSU, one of the parties which forms the government coalition. His unwilling attitude toward the whole "bundle" of problems in Polish-FRG relations is well known, specially in the financial and economic sphere. Waigel is determinedly trying to woo the neo-brown "Republicans" who have had recent election successes in Bavaria, and he is increasingly trying to outdo them in their German-nationalistic slogans.

As a member of government calling into question the map of postwar Europe and the final character of the border on the Odra and Nysa Rivers at a revisionist congress, minister Waigel is aiming directly at our fundamental rights as a nation and state. Such a line of action by Bonn is unacceptable to the Polish nation and is unacceptable to all Poles whatever their political convictions may be. The Polish Government cannot remain indifferent to the revisionism in relation to our state, which is being raised to the rank of Bonn's official policy.

Jaruzelski Wants Ties With Israel To Improve

TA1007201289 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2000 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Poland's outgoing president, wants ties with Israel to improve. He believes, however, that this improvement and the chances for the establishment of diplomatic relations depend on what he called a broader international context. Jaruzelski was talking to our correspondent Gid'on Kouts in the Sejm hall in Warsaw following the special session in honor of President Bush.

Jaruzelski Visits Sejm Speaker Kozakicwicz

LD1307075289 Warsaw PAP in English 1622 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—President of the Council of State General Wojciech Jaruzelski paid a visit today to speaker of the Sejm Mikolaj Kozakiewicz.

Kielce Party Meeting Considers Need for Change

AU1107073989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8-9 Jul 89 p 2

[Tadeusz Wiacek report: "Kielce: A Party Closer to People and Their Problems"]

[Excerpts] There was a meeting of the Kielce Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Voivodship Committee on 7 July devoted to analyzing the sociopolitical situation in the region following the Sejm and Senate elections and to setting the tasks for the voivodship party organization for the near future. The session was chaired by Maciej Lubczynski, Central Committee department chief and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Party Work Commission. [passage omitted]

The Voivodship Committee plenary session was preceded by 12 regional consultative meetings held all over the voivodship at which 132 persons spoke. They drew attention to the possibility of considering the need to bring forward the 11th PZPR Congress. Some raised the issue of changing the name of party, and even the question of creating new parties of a socialist and social democrat kind. The need to make profound changes to the party program was also pointed to.

It was said, among other things, that an immediate start should be made on preparations for the congress, a new draft statute, and consultations with the members of all party organizations. Some comrades said that they believed that the future of the party did not depend on its name, but on its program, its credibility in the eyes of society, the membership being active, and on activities being effective.

These problems were raised during the debate. Those who spoke also expressed their views on the changes to voivodship party structures proposed by the voivodship executive committee.

Party Commission Analyzes Election Defeat

AU1107075289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8-9 Jul 89 p 2

[Ewa Rosolak report: "Tough Questions, Awkward Answers"]

[Text] The Sejm and Senate election campaigns and the results of the elections were analyzed and appraised at a meeting of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Representative Organs Commission that was held on 7 July under the chairmanship of Kazimierz Barcikowski.

Why did the party suffer a defeat at the elections? How can the fact that 40 percent of the electorate did not vote be explained? These were the questions that were raised most frequently during the debate.

The predominant view was the the results of the elections not only confirmed our organizational weakness (there is a substantial list of mistakes made by all party cells and echelons), but indicate, above all, that there has been a decline in confidence in the party. The reasons for the failure of part of the party electorate to vote for its own candidates are complex and diverse. The most frequently cited reasons were: the weakness of primary cells, "sluggish" work on the part of regional echelons, an echelon's arrogance toward its own members, as well as the fact that many comrades are still not aware of the profound political changes that were initiated by the 10th Central Committee plenum.

The basic mistakes made by the party that were discussed included: acceptance of the "roundtable" thesis on the non-confrontational nature of the elections; the firm belief that the church would remain neutral; and the failure to wage a struggle for the votes of the "silent majority."

During discussion of the low election turnout, it was pointed out that both the party and the opposition had failed to mobilize voters. It was stressed that voter apathy was primarily due to: the market situation (shortages of basic commodities), procrastination on pay decisions (health service, teachers), the lack of clarification concerning taxation in the countryside, and a voting system that was more complicated than previous ones.

Much attention was accorded to the work of the PZPR Deputies Club. It was stressed that it should become the rule that the Deputies Club and the Central Committee hold joint sessions so that the 173 party deputies can participate in formulating the party program instead of only implementing or realizing directives.

Edward Szymanski, Boleslaw Plaza, Jozef Brozek, Wojciech Sokolewicz, Stanislaw Gabrielski, Zofia Ryngwelska, Jozef Nowak, Witold Gadomski, and Jan Cofalka spoke during the discussion, which was summed up by Kazimierz Barcikowski.

He said: "It is easier to formulate questions and general challenges than to provide concrete answers. There are no concrete answers today. However, we need to formulate them for ourselves and for the Central Committee." He added: "We should draw a useful lesson from our defeat. We should shake off a lot of our current ideas, and begin to act using social and political 'means'."

Kazimierz Barcikowski continued: "We should also analyze the causes of the bitterness that people feel today. Society complains not just because of the objective situation, but also because of unrealistic and unfulfilled hopes. The party must discuss all these issues and draw appropriate conclusions. There is a pressing need for the party to create a real program for getting out of the crisis which it can submit to society."

Biographies of New Sejm Marshal, Vice Marshals

AU1107075889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jul 89 p 3

["Biographies" of new Sejm marshal and vice marshals, attributed to PAP]

[Text] **Sejm Marshal**

Mikolaj Kozakiewicz was born in the Wilno region on 24 December 1923. He graduated from the philosophy department of Warsaw University in 1950. Initially he worked as a teacher, and then as a scholar and journalist. In 1984 he obtained a full professorship. He is the author of more than 30 scholarly and popular scientific works, which have been published in Poland and abroad. He has received many awards, including two from the Polish Academy of Sciences. He has worked at the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute for the Development of the Countryside and Agriculture since 1970. He is an active member of many scientific and social organizations in Poland and abroad.

He joined the Peasant Party in 1947 and has been a member of the United Peasant Party since 1949. He has been a member of the presidium of the United Peasant Party National Council since the party's 10th congress. He was deputy in the 10th Sejm. He took part in the "roundtable" deliberations.

Sejm Vice Marshals

Teresa Katarzyna Dobielinska-Eliszewska was born into an intelligentsia family in Radom on 22 April 1941. She graduated from high school in Poznan and then studied at the Poznan Medical Academy. On graduating in 1965, she started working for the health service in Olsztyn. She is a specialist in oncology. She is head of the oncology department at Olsztyn City Hospital.

She has been a member of the Democratic Party since 1969. She is vice chairman of the Democratic Party Voivodship Committee in Olsztyn. At the 14th Democratic Party Congress she was elected a member of the party's Central Committee, and was subsequently elected a member of its presidium. She was a deputy in the 10th Sejm.

She lives in Olsztyn, is married, and has two sons.

Tadeusz Fiszbach was born in Drobaczyn, Lvov Voivodship, on 4 November 1935. His father was a worker and his mother was a teacher. He has lived in the Gdansk coastal area since 1945. He is married and has a son and a daughter. In 1957 he graduated from the College of Agriculture in Olsztyn. He studied economics at the College of Social Sciences. He is a graduate of the Main College of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw. In 1977 he obtained a doctorate in technical sciences. He worked in the food industry from 1957 to 1963.

He has been a member of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] since 1958 and has been a party political worker since 1963. He became a secretary of the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee in 1971 and was its first secretary from 1975 to January 1982. At the Seventh and Eighth PZPR Congresses he was elected a member of the PZPR Central Committee. He was a candidate of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo from December 1980 to July 1981. He was on the negotiators of the Gdansk accords in 1980 and is one of the signatories. From June 1982 to November 1986 he was a counselor at the Polish Embassy in Helsinki. He has been a ministerial adviser in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1987.

He was a deputy in the 10th Sejm. In 1979 he was awarded the Order of Labor Second Class.

Olga Krzyzanowska was born into an intelligentsia family in Warsaw on 10 September 1929. Her mother was a doctor and her father was an army officer. He was commander of the Wilno District Home Army during the war and died in Mokotow Prison in Warsaw in 1951.

She lived in Warsaw until the end of the war and then moved to Gdansk, where she graduated from high school. In 1952 she began studying at the Gdansk Medical Academy and graduated as a physician. She was employed at the voivodship hospital in Gdansk, the Gdansk Medical Academy, and has worked for the Gdansk Shipyard medical service since 1963. She is an internist and a specialist in industrial medicine.

She has been a member of the "Solidarity" Health Service Employee Union Coordinating Commission since 1981.

She is married, and her husband is an independent scholar of the Polish Academy of Sciences. She has a daughter, who is a lawyer.

Miller Answers TRYBUNA LUDU Readers' Questions

LD1307040889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] [Announcer] For 3 hours Central Committee Secretary Leszek Miller held discussions over the phone with TRYBUNA LUDU readers. Several words about what you discussed during this time:

[Miller] Above all, many people asked me to convey to General Jaruzelski that he should not decline running for the office of president. Many people emphasized the qualifications and merits of Comrade Jaruzelski. These were, incidentally, very warm opinions and words.

Second, attention was drawn to the fact that there is no other way for the party than to protect its unity, that a split is always a serious danger and in this situation, it would be simply suicidal. In addition to this, it was emphasized that what is at issue is not unanimity of thought, since unanimity is really [words indistinct], but the ability and readiness for organized activity.

Finally, third, a great number of people asked me about various instant remedies. It is possible that I disillusioned some of my interlocutors, but I think that there are no teachers and pupils, no instant remedies, and in politics, it is also the case that there are no merely positive and negative phenomena. We must learn together to act under new circumstances, to find new forms of activity, with the awareness that the basic road sign is the resolution of the 10th plenum.

Geremek: Real Danger Lies in 'Social Hatred'

PM0607101289 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Interview with Solidarity Parliamentary Leader Bronislaw Geremek by BBC correspondent Julian O'Halloran, monitored in progress in the framework of BBC 2 "Newsnight" program; place, date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [O'Halloran] But the uncertainty over who'll become president, and when, is a symptom of the growing political paralysis afflicting Poland. This poses the Solidarity activists who triumphed in the June elections with a troubling question: Should they now urge their leaders to try and force their way into the political vacuum, turning their victory into a role in government years before they ever expected it?

Bronislaw Geremek is a man with the closest possible interest in this question. He's been tipped for the job of prime minister if Solidarity takes a leading role in government, but he adopts a cautious approach.

[Geremek] We can form the government, but we are still aware of the political situation—it means geopolitical situation of Poland; it means the relationship between the Army, the party, and the police. And so, being realistic, we think that for the future of Poland, the best way is this evolution. But if the Polish Communist Party will give up—it means to accept the will of the Polish society—we are ready to take the power. [passage omitted]

[Geremek] We're afraid by the inflation, by new increases of prices. I have the feeling that the most difficult question now is not in the political field, election of president, the working process of this opposition and government inside the parliament, but first of all, how to establish a new, reasonable economic policy. [passage omitted]

[Geremek] The Polish society is, in a sense, exhausted by this lack of improvement in the material life, and I think that the real danger for all this political process is not in the hard-liners' behavior, not in the situation or in the behavior of the Soviet Union or other countries, neighbors, other neighbors of Poland: The real danger is the explosion of the social hatred.

Dissident Solidarity Members Hold Meeting

LD1207143189 Warsaw PAP in English 1227 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Bydgoszcz, July 10—Representatives of "Solidarity" factory organisations of the Bydgoszcz Region associated in the provisional board of the region and remaining in opposition to Lech Walesa held their 5th general assembly here over last night.

Three independent factory organisations of "Solidarity" appealed for holding joint elections of the union's authorities in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship. The assembly's attitude to the draft indexation of wages was negative, whereas the adopted resolutions supported i.a. the protest action of medical service staff here. The meeting demanded that the Bydgoszcz Voivode present the causes of deteriorating foodstuffs supply to the trade unionists.

Artur Bodnar on Impact of Election Result

PM3006122089 Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 16 Jun 89 p 3

[Interview with Prof Artur Bodnar, director of Warsaw University Institute of Political Sciences and government adviser during the March-April roundtable talks, by INTERPRESS correspondent Teresa Kwasniewska; date, place not given]

[Text] [Kwasniewska] Professor, all parliamentary elections always constitute a major political event in every country in the world. Our Polish elections have become an exceptional, and at the same time symbolic, occasion. The [government] coalition was handed the bill for the past 40 years of its rule. Excessive expectations have been vested in the opposition side. What is going to happen next?

[Bodnar] Above all else, Polish society is waiting to see an improvement in its living conditions and therefore seeks guarantees that could secure such conditions from all participants in our political life. It was not by accident that nearly 8 million Poles voted for Solidarity and for the national list at the same time. In other words, Solidarity supporters also voted for the national list. This means that the general public has placed the burden of responsibility for the condition of the state equally on both major forces competing in the elections. For many years now all opinion polls and surveys have been showing that the Polish people want peace and stability. Consequently, we now face an unusually intricate dilemma: how to introduce the necessary changes in a resolute and radical manner without disrupting the very fragile fabric of the dominant social interests. This problem will have to be included in the new parliament's agenda and must be discussed there in a thoroughly comprehensive way.

Within the Sejm we now have an emerging alignment which balances two parallel forces: on the one hand the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], which commands nearly 38 percent of mandates, and on the other Solidarity's Citizens Committee, with its 35 percent. Between these two stand the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and several minor political groups. This means that neither major side will be able to force any parliamentary acts through without seeking support from other political groups. The acute nature of this problem is best illustrated by the virtual monopoly enjoyed by Solidarity's Citizens Committee in the Senate.

[Kwasniewska] What does this mean in practical terms?

[Bodnar] It means that there will be two kinds of coalition in the new government: the nominal coalition which ran in the elections and the real one—I call it situational coalition—within which, depending on particular interests of specific groups, relations can fluctuate in a variety of alignments.

[Kwasniewska] Pessimists will say that such an alignment of forces could result in progressive delays in parliamentary decisionmaking processes.

[Bodnar] But optimists will counter this prognosis with the argument that the results of these extended decisionmaking processes in the Sejm will no longer be rushed and premature. Instead, they will be carefully considered and well balanced. However, the key still lies in the intentions declared by all sides: whether to be ruled by particular interests or by the interests of the whole country. Today Solidarity claims that it is well aware of its responsibility to and for the country and ready to continue the policy of compromise, having already demonstrated this readiness in the roundtable talks. In this respect it has indeed proved its consistency. Compromise means that we must rule out being motivated in our actions by emotions and instead stick to rational considerations and premises in a manner which in general terms can be defined as a model of rational decisionmaking.

We are also expected to behave in this way by foreign observers. Opinions cited in the world press and comments by members of Western governments with whom General Jaruzelski met in Brussels and London confirm the prevailing view that Poland has every chance of remaining an oasis of peace and moderation amid the major modernization process currently sweeping the whole socialist world and entailing a high rate of embroilment, including also some armed conflicts. A political climate of peace and moderation in Poland would also create conditions permitting more openness and economic assistance on the part of our partners. However, we must also remember that—as Adam Michnik rightly pointed out—nothing in Poland will take the same course again. When Michnik said this, he was thinking of government methods and the behavior patterns of the protagonists on Poland's political stage.

I have always fervently hoped that those in positions of power in Poland would be prudent enough to keep their sights trained at least on the intermediate future. That they would remember that the public were bound to demand that they square their accounts on the occasion of a national election. That they would abandon their practice of planning too far ahead for the benefit of some remote generations in the distant future and give more thought instead to the real people living their daily lives here and now.

The change of the political model in Poland also means that each of the protagonists on the political stage who wants to stay at the front of that stage or at least to retain his rating in the public eye will have to think hard about how all big decisions concerning major capital investments and economic relations with foreign countries, or the strategy for resolving social welfare issues, will eventually affect the level of public support in 4 years' time, when the next parliamentary elections are due. The big change in our system must bear fruit in the form of economic policies designed to bring rapid results.

[Kwasniewska] Here we come up against the problem of the Sejm's competence and expertise.

[Bodnar] In my opinion the choice of parliamentary deputies is not bad. We can certainly say that there will be too few legal experts in the Sejm. There will be a certain number of economic experts, but we must remember that 60 percent of all candidates proposed by the PZPR are practical, practitioners of applied economics. Lists of candidates proposed by Solidarity's Citizens Committee feature substantial numbers of engineers, agriculturalists, and teachers.

[Kwasniewska] According to its leaders' earlier declarations, Solidarity maintains its determination to preserve its role of opposition to the authorities in power.

[Bodnar] In the first place, we have the institution of legal opposition which is sanctioned by society. Today such legal opposition operates in all developed countries chiefly at the level of parliamentary and other representative bodies. However, it can also participate in the process of practical day-to-day government, though it is not compelled to do so. As a component part of the body of parliament it bears the burden of responsibility for the overall pattern of the state's policy, legislative system, and so on. On the other hand, it is always entitled to say that the policy pursued in daily practice by the authorities in power could be improved and be more in line with the sociopolitical orientation represented by the opposition and individual groups within it. Therefore I do not perceive any substantive inconsistency here.

This is also why I can confidently say that a careful analysis of the election programs put forward by the political parties and Solidarity's Citizens Committee will reveal that they are essentially convergent and that at the same time they constitute not only a continuation of the roundtable decisions but also their pragmatic development and expansion—all of which is to Poland's undisputed advantage today. We should also remember that the perspective from which the PZPR interprets many social and economic issues is more advantageous for urban communities and the way in which the ZSL sees them is geared more to the interests of the farming sectors, while the approach adopted by the Citizens Committee represents the perspective from which the younger generation views our crucial national issues. Consequently, when it comes to the process of bidding for political influence, each of these sides—to say nothing of other representative groups—will give a different answer to the question of how we should grade the hierarchy of our objectives and how to realize them; or which of them is most pressing now, or will be so in the immediate future.

[Kwasniewska] You are also a PZPR member and yet there is nothing in your statements that would betray a pessimistic view of the future. After all, the elections were tantamount to a defeat for your party...

[Bodnar] As a PZPR member, I am of course prey to mixed emotions. But I represent an orientation within the party that is guided by reasons of state and arguments which promote reforms. This is why I take an optimistic view of the election results. I believe that thay have provided an exceptionally firm and unequivocal social infrastructure for those reforms and changes, an infrastructure evident also in the echelons of my organization. On the other hand, there is no point in denying that I too entertain certain doubts. These mostly concern the questions whether the party did not wait too long before introducing internal reforms and whether it has already managed to muster enough strength to update its image in a manner intelligible to the whole of its Left wing. We will find answers to these questions in the course of the next few months as we prepare for the 11th Congress.

[Kwasniewska] Oh yes, as regards the Congress...

[Bodnar] I think that in a situation where the party has relinquished its monopoly on power—not only through verbal declarations but in actual practice—while at the same time hoping to retain its controlling function in the process of state management, the only way in which it can hope to adjust itself to the new circumstances will be by implementing a series of radical reforms. This is also its only chance of securing a place for itself in the next parliament in 4 years' time—a place as good as the present one or even better. These questions will be discussed already in the course of the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. We must summon up enough strength to be able to redefine radically our ideological and political profile. It is also essential that we adapt the party's name to reflect its dominant orientation: an orientation rooted in the ideology of the Left wing of the Polish Socialist Party [PZPR's predecessor]. Next year, after the 11th Congress, we must also carry out the renewal of party cards. In addition, we need to lend our support to all initiatives and phenomena that can encourage the development of Polish democratic socialism.

[Kwasniewska] Is it not true that in the context of the recent developments the thesis which assumes the party's leading role in the state sounds a jarring note?

[Bodnar] By relinquishing its monopoly on power the party has already in effect given up its claim to performing a leading role in the state. The only way in which it can still carry out its social mission is through the channel of the coalition and by entering into agreements with other organizations and forces. If it can prove that it is capable of doing this consistently and resolutely, we will then be able to say that the PZPR has retained its controlling portfolio of political shares and its significant role as a party whose orientation is geared to a progressive interpretation of working people's interests.

'Economic Action' Group Issues Statement

LD1207150189 Warsaw PAP in English 1233 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—During a meeting with Wojciech Jaruzelski held on July 11, activists of the "economic action" presented the following statement (excerpts):

"The economic revival of the country is not possible within the framework of the hitherto economic system. What is needed are systemic changes reaching much farther and deeper than all the steps of the so-called economic reform taken to-date.

"A change of ownership relations, with special attention attached to the development of the private sector and cooperation with foreign capital, is the paramount matter. The program of restructuring the ownership structure should meet the following criteria:

"Just access for all units to assets undergoing privatization, a market and not discretionary mechanism of its redistribution, using the sale of a part of state assets to private owners as an anti-inflationary instrument. The offer of coverting a part of the foreign debt into capital shares of foreign creditors in Polish enterprises should also be an element of privatization.

"The announced program of radical changes should be backed by the announced foreign assistance. In line with the intention of the Western partners and cost-and-effect, it should be above all directed at crediting the private sector, ensuring fast growth of market and exports production. The use of inflowing means in the framework of assistance should be handled by independent, trustworthy and expert institutions (for example banks). These institutions would also serve the economic mobilization of hard currency held by the population in the country. The success of the cause of saving the economy will however be determined not by foreign assistance but the fortitude and determination of Polish society and consistency in implementing changes in the economic system.

"The new government should without delay present a program of saving the Polish economy. Such a program can be presented only by a government free of political and ideological biases. Agreeing on the necessary immediate moves and systemic changes with the chief social forces will be a condition of social trust and effectiveness of action. In the framework of such a program, parliament should grant the government considerable freedom of action."

Health Service Employees Continue Protests

LD1307030889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Employees of the health service are continuing their protest actions. They are protesting low pay and the bad situation in the health care sector.

Street pickets appeared in Koszalin. In Pila, voivodship flags and posters appeared on larger buildings belonging to the medical service. The staff of the oncological hospital in Wroclaw joined the protest. The employees of the Katowice health service demanded improved pay and working conditions at a rally in front of the voivodship office building. A march passed through the streets of Radom. The hunger strike in Poznan continues [for the 7th day].

Szczecin Reports Dry Goods Shortages

LD1307030289 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Excerpt] The fever to buy up sugar is endless. Recently, flour, buckwheat, salt, and vinegar also have been disappearing from store shelves. As we were informed at the directorate of the voivodship (?processing) and food enterprise, in Szczecin, 40 tonnes of sugar and 36 tonnes of other dry goods are delivered to shops daily. This situation should improve in the autumn, following the holiday period and the regulation of prices. [passage omitted]

Ceausescu Chairs Working People's Council Plenum

AU1207193689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1859 GMT 12 Jul 89

["Plenary Meeting of National Council of Working People"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 12/7/1989—Under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, president of Romania, chairman of the National Council of Working People, the plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People started in Bucharest, on July 12.

Taking their seats in the Presidium were President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu, as well as members and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, secretaries of the party's Central Committee, members of the Executive Bureau of the National Council of Working People.

Invited guests at the plenary meeting were executives of ministries, industrial departments and enterprises, party and state activists and of mass and public organizations.

The agenda of the plenary meetings includes reports on the implementation of the national plan of socio-economic development and of the programmes of ensuring organization and modernization of production processes on the first half of the year and on measures for the fulfilment of the plan with all indices in the second half and the whole year of 1989, as well as reports on the draft national plan of Romania's socio-economic development in 1990. The plenary meeting also debates the master programme of the 14th RCP Congress on Romania's socio-economic development in the 1991-1995 five-year period and the long-term guidelines until 2000-2010.

At a ceremony opening the plenary meeting, President Nicolae Ceausescu handed over high distinctions of the Socialist Republic of Romania conferred under presidential decree to county party organizations, county people's councils, enterprises and research institutes ranking first in the socialist emulation drive for 1988.

The works of the plenary meeting proceeded in plenum and by councils on fields of activity.

The participants in the works expressed their adhesion to the resolution of the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP concerning the proposal to reelect Nicolae Ceausescu at the 14th RCP Congress to the highest office of general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party. The firm belief was expressed that reinvestiture to the highest party office was the guarantee of Romania's unflinching advance along the road of socialism and communism, of welfare and peace.

During the debates, stress was laid on the importance of the documents in the agenda of this broad and representative forum of the working class, expression of the profound democratism of the Romanian socialist system which ensures the working people's participation in decision-making in the units where they work, in the general development of the national economy.

Full approval was expressed of the programmatic documents to be debated by the 14th RCP Congress, of the party and state home and foreign policy which completely meets the whole people's interests and aspirations at progress, welfare and peace. The speakers expressed the belief that the sound foundation of the continual progress of the national economy, of the growth of the whole nation's wealth, of the people's welfare was the socialist ownership of the production means—a fact fully proved by everything Romania achieved in the entire economic and social life.

Reference was made to the achievements in industry, export, construction, transport and other sectors in the first half of the year which were shown to have been superior to those in the same period of last year. Likewise shortfalls were mentioned which prevented the results obtained in all fields to be up to the possibilities provided by the technical and human potential of the national economy.

Starting from all these, the participants in the debates examined specific ways and means to fulfil the plan for the second half of 1989 and the entire five-year period.

Emphasis was placed on the need to permanently improve the work style and methods of the council of working people, so that these collective management bodies, illustrative of the wide scope of the revolutionary worker democracy, may better fulfil their attributions, make their entire contribution to the prompt clarification and settlement of all the problems concerning the rhythmical fulfilment of the plan, to the consistent application of the self-management and self-administration principles, to the strengthening and defence of the socialist property.

The works of the plenary meeting continue.

Ceausescu Receives Arab IPU Delegation

AU1207102389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0846 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/7/1989—The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received on Tuesday, 11 July, the delegation of the Arab Interparliamentary Union [IPU], led by the union's secretary-general Abderahman Bouraoui, now on a visit to Romania at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly.

The interview was attended by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, and Marin Ivascu, chairman of the Romanian Group of the Interparliamentary Union.

Addressing President Nicolae Ceausescu, the head of the delegation of the Arab Interparliamentary Union said:

"Please allow me to convey you a warm salute from the Arab heads of state to whom you are linked by relations of friendship that have passed a glorious exam of lastingness and have contributed to the growth of Romania's friendly ties with the Arab countries in all areas.

"In 1981 it was in this hall that I listened with keen interest to a valuable speech you made on the international situation, and more particularly on the Middle East situation, the conclusions and assessments of which are fully valid today as well, and developments have proved their clearsightedness and correctness," the speaker further said.

Speaking about the impressions of the current visit to Romania the secretary-general of the Arab Interparliamentary Union said:

"During the short period we have spent in your country we could see part of the palpable achievements Romania has scored in the years since you have been leading this country. We could realize that this is a period of unprecedented development.

"On an international plane, your name is the name of the outstanding revolutionary that tirelessly militated and militates for the development of the relations among the countries of the world, for disarmament, for the settlement of all the problems among countries by peaceful, negotiated means, for the observance of peoples' sacred rights to peace, to development.

"We are highly appreciative of the role Romania, under your wise leadership, plays in the finding of a just, peaceful and comprehensive solution to the Middle East issue—an issue the essence of which is the ensurance of the Palestinian people's rights," the head of the delegation said. "We firmly believe that you will further your efforts until the Palestinian people's fight is successful, until this people is able to live in its own independent state."

Assessing highly Romania's foreign policy the speaker said: "We realize that your country fights firmly for real detente, for peace, for a world ridded of weapons, with no one to dominate it, and not threatened by the use of or recourse to force.

"Visiting your country and knowing better Romanian realities we could note the scope of the perfidious and ill-willed campaign some circles wage against Romania, against this country's will to let no one dominate it.

"We can tell you that your experience, unique in the world, regarding the liquidation of your foreign debt is a worth following example for all the countries of the world, more particularly for the developing countries which are burdened by their foreign debt and the development of which is threatened and even drawn back by these debts, while their sovereignty and independence is jeopardized. We were glad to see that Romania managed to consolidate its independence, ensure its impetuous development which can be an example for the whole world."

"The foreign policy principles Romania has set and pursues make of it an exemplary model in the world, securing it an important part on the scene of international developments."

Stressing that Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu were the initiators of the idea of convening an international conference on the Middle East, the chief delegate requested that Romania continue its steps along this line, and further support the efforts for the establishment of a comprehensive, lasting and just peace in that region. Likewise, the speaker expressed the belief that Romania would continue to contribute to stimulating peace negotiations between Iran and Iraq, to peacefully solving questions in the Middle East, the Gulf and other regions of the world.

The guest conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu, the Romanian people warm congratulations on Romania's forthcoming national day.

The vice-chairman of the Palestinian group of the Arab Interparliamentary Union also took the floor during the interview.

In his address, welcoming the visit to Romania of the delegation of the Arab Interparliamentary Union, and thanking for the assessments the Arab parliamentarians made of the Romanian policy of cooperation with the Arab countries, with all the states of the world, President Nicolae Ceausescu said:

You have held talks, you have seen something of Romania, therefore you know how our country looks today and what it sets itself for the future. This year it is 45 years since the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation. Not long ago we drew a balance-sheet of what we have achieved, we elaborated the documents for the Fourteenth Party Congress which set forth Romania's achievements as well as its future targets.

In this short historical period we have traversed several development stages. We are in the stage of building the multilaterally developed socialist society. For Romania this meant the eradication of backwardness. We were a poorly developed country. Now Romania is an industrial-agrarian country in full progress. Romania's industrial production grew 135 times, its agricultural production ten times, while its national income 40 times. Nevertheless, beyond these figures anyone can see how

towns and villages have changed, how the general standard of civilization has risen, how education, science, culture and the people's standard of living have advanced. As a matter of fact everything we have achieved is meant for the country's development, for the people's general welfare.

It is true we liquidated the exploiting classes. We are resolute to have in Romania no more people who live by the work of others. We want to have a society of well-being of the whole nation, of the people. It is true that this displeases some who attempt even now to interfere with a few million dollars in the development of some or other countries. They seem not to have understood the deep-going changes occurred in the world, they have not understood that the peoples which abolished imperialist domination and embarked on the path of independent development will no longer accept to become slaves ever again.

You referred to Romania's repayment of foreign debt, and mentioned that it should be an example. Certainly, Romania has done this effort not only economically but also politically. However, the developing countries which have a huge debt cannot follow Romania's example, because when the over 1,200-billion-dollar debt was made, they had already paid several times off the credits they received through very high interest rates. Every year scores of billion dollars go from developing countries to developed countries which use this money to maintain a certain general level in their countries by oppressing almost four thousand million people. Of what they plunder from developing countries they allow themselves to throw away some million dollars here and there, in the name of the so-called democratic liberties. With this money they finance the anti-governmental actions in various countries in Latin America and in other areas. What we can say is that the developing countries should consolidate their solidarity, their unity so as to find a global solution to the debt problem, to a new international economic order.

Secondly, it is the problem of the continuation of the arms race, including the nuclear one. After the conclusion of the accord between the Soviet Union and the USA on intermediate-range missiles, NATO is discussing the modernization of nuclear weapons, and continues nuclear tests and the militarization of outer space. That is why the fight against the policy of arming, for the liquidation of nuclear weapons is one of the fundamental problems, and parliaments and all peoples must take most resolute action along this line. As a matter of fact, there is a close unity between the problem of the arms race and that of development, and one cannot speak about an improvement of the world situation without solving both of them.

As regards various military conflicts, Romania has always declared for their cessation and settlement through negotiations. These conflicts which generally took place between developing countries have but harmed their development and, ultimately, served the same imperialist countries [sentence as received]. That is why we have always been for an end of the Iran-Iraq war, and we think everything must be done for the conclusion of a lasting peace.

This also holds for the conflicts in various other parts of the world. A just and durable peace is necessary, in the interests of the respective peoples which should in no way allow for the consolidation of various great powers' domination.

As for the Middle East, we have always been for a political solution. A week ago I talked with Comrade 'Arafat here, in this hall. We discussed at length questions related to the establishment of peace in the Middle East. There are, indeed, real possibilities to call an international conference, and we must do our utmost in this respect. We think there are real possibilities to call such a conference. The changes in the Israeli public opinion itself are favourable for it. Certainly, one must not wait but take daily action for it—if we may say so, because there are also forces that consider they can calm down things and procrestinate the resolution of problems.

We hold the view, President Nicolae Ceausescu further said, that the maintenance of the Palestinian people's unity, solidarity and firm position is a demand for a just settlement of problems, for self-determination, for a Palestinian state.

In this framework I welcome the Arab countries' solidarity at the recent Casablanca summit on this matter. Being fully solid with the Palestinian people and assisting it, the Arab countries can and must bring about the calling of an international conference on the Middle East issue.

A solution of this problem must ensure equality to all states, their sovereignty—and I want to say it openly—we have always been for Israel, too, to have its sovereignty guaranteed in this framework. There are favourable conditions now to attain this goal and Romania is determined to take action along this line together with the Arab countries, with other states.

We wish to broadly develop ties with all Arab countries. In fact we have good relations—both economic and political, and others. I view your visit as an expression of the relations between our countries, of the wish to work together for their development.

Romania is determined to concentrate its forces on the socialist development of the country and on the rise in the people's standard of living. We want to collaborate with all states, whatever their social system.

We are against any policy of interference in the affairs of other states. We have always been on the side of the peoples fighting for independence, for their being fully free in choosing their development way as they wish.

In this spirit we should like the relations between our parliaments, between our countries to continually develop and contribute to the policy of economic and social progress, of raising our peoples welfare and consolidating their independence.

SCINTEIA Praise of Ceausescu Speech Cited

AU0107180189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1541 GMT 1 Jul 89

["Innovative, Principled Approach to the Major Problems of Our Days"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 01/17/1989—Referring in an extensive commentary to the clearsighted analysis of present-day world developments RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu made in his speech to the recent plenary meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], SCINTEIA of 1 July shows among other things: The speech outlines practical ways and means of action, and crystallizes theses and ideas of a highly valuable contribution to world thinking.

In the light of experience in socialist construction, of Romania's great achievements in the general development of socialism, President Nicolae Ceausescu underscores the historical legitimacy of socialism, as these achievements stand proof of the superiority of the new system, of its might and vigour, of the fact that socialism is an objective law and the future of the whole mankind. The assertion of this truth is hostilely viewed by the imperialist reactionary forces which have stepped up of late their anti-socialist attacks in an attempt to destabilize and denigrate socialism. In such circumstances one is fully entitled to be puzzled and concerned over the tendencies in certain countries to slacken the party's leading role, to revert to the so-called multi-party system, to negate or diminish the role of socialist property. Given such tendencies, the RCP general secretary underlines in his speech that there is not and there cannot be improvement and development of socialism without a single party of the working class, that socialism can be built but on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, the elimination of inequalities and oppression, by achieving new relations of production and real social justice. As for the natural and necessary concern to better develop socialism, shown in various countries, it should be done, in Romania's opinion, rather by asserting the might and superiority of socialism than by denying or underestimating it.

Romania attaches special importance to growing friendship and collaboration with all socialist countries, with the neighbour ones in the first place, which is a programmatic, defining orientation of the Romanian foreign policy President Nicolae Ceausescu also reiterated in his recent speech. In the spirit of such a principled position, inspired by the wish that all socialist countries should firmly develop on the path of socialism, Romania proposed that the Warsaw Treaty countries, all the socialist countries should jointly analyse the current problems of socialist construction, and jointly establish how they can cooperate better to surmount difficulties and ensure steady progress in building the new system.

The speech also reasserts Romania's consistent orientation regarding the consolidation of collaboration with developing countries the share of which has continually grown in its foreign exchanges. Furthermore, it expresses Romania's determination to work for the broad development of ties with the developed capitalist countries, with all states, whatever their social system, as a demand of general progress.

Unfortunately, facts show that interstate relations and international economic cooperation continue to be affected by persisting noxious practices of making economic relations dependent on political or other considerations, which are part of the policy of interference in the states' domestic affairs. In this respect, Romania has again stated resolutely: it is time for an end to such practices tributary to the obsolete way of thinking in the international life, to the attempts of Western circles and politicians to assume the right of deciding what is right and what is wrong for one country or another. All the more so as in their own countries they encounter many real humanitarian questions that can be solved through the states' active collaboration which, in Romania's opinion, would be highly useful in ensuring a free and decent life to all peoples.

RCP general secretary's assessments of the present time are highly realistic, lucid and clearsighted. The speech shows it is incontestable that certain important steps have been taken of late toward detente and peace, which obviously bear on the political climate: the conclusion of the Soviet-American accord on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles, the beginning of Vienna talks on conventional disarmament in Europe, the passage to a negotiated settlement of conflicts in various parts of the world. However, the truth is that, despite like measures, the international situation continues to be serious and complex, and this truth must be openly told to the peoples, as the RCP general secretary pointed out.

Assessing the renunciation of nuclear weapons as one of the basic problems of international life, RCP general secretary underlines that like weapons and their modernization should be given up and that new accords should be achieved between the Soviet Union and the United States regarding a 50-per cent cut in strategic nuclear armament, the liquidation of any nuclear weapons, and renunciation of nuclear tests and of outer space militarization. Romania's stance is also reiterated on a radical reduction of conventional weapons, of military spending, the means thus released being used in solving socioeconomic problems in each country and in assisting developing countries.

An appeal is made in the RCP general secretary's speech that the lessons of history should not be forgotten. The events before the start of the Second World War showed what the tolerating or—even worse—the encouraging of the activity of fascist, revanchist organizations could lead to. As the speech underscores, to reject fascism means to defend democracy, freedom, peace.

Romania's deep attachment to the cause of European security—proved along the years by the many ground breaking initiatives, by practical actions to achieve the great desideratum of building a Europe of peace and collaboration—finds a new and telling expression in the speech. Romania declares for Europe's unity—but a unity in the diversity of the existing social systems—for a Europe of free and independent nations. At the same time, the speech reasserts Romania's determination to act for developing a broad collaboration among Balkan countries, for achieving in the Balkans a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, free of foreign military bases, as a component of peace and collaboration—finds a new and telling expression in the speech. Romania declares for Europe's unity—but a unity in the diversity of the existing social systems—for a Europe of free and independent nations. At the same time, the speech reasserts Romania's determination to act for developing a broad collaboration among Balkan countries, for achieving in the Balkans a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, free of foreign military bases, as a component of peace and collaboration on the entire European continent.

The evolution of international life fully confirms the rightness of Romania's consistent stand which was once again emphasised at the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP regarding the role of small-and medium-size countries, of developing and non-aligned countries in international life. Experience—be it older or more recent—proves that not even one of the great problems of mankind can be justly solved without the active participation of all states no matter their social system or size.

This time, too, President Nicolae Ceausescu reasserted the consistent orientation of the Romanian Communist Party regarding the strengthening of international solidarity. Such an orientation has its roots in the very traditions of the worker, revolutionary movement in Romania but also in the deep understanding of the fact that the grave and complex world situation,

The changes in the ratio of forces on an international plane call—as an objective necessity—for the more powerful strengthening of the collaboration and solidarity with all advanced forces. No Communist Party, no revolutionary party—the speech shows—can isolate itself. On the contrary, in the current circumstances, the strengthening of international cooperation and solidarity is more necessary than anytime. The working class, the next generations, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed, will not forgive those who do not understand that in the present situation everything should be done for the strengthening of unity—a new-type unity—of the independent parties with equal rights.

The concept of solidarity as defined by the RCP general secretary is a broadly open concept which includes the solidarity with all communist and worker parties, with socialist and social democratic parties, with the progressive anti-imperialist movements, with the democratic forces everywhere for the assertion of the common purposes, of the supreme ideals of all peoples.

The Romanian Communist Prty, Romania have restated their unflinching determination to make their whole contribution to this end, to collaborate with all the advanced forces having the belief that the course of the events can be changed by joint, asserted so that the aspirations after peace, independence and progress of the whole mankind be attained. [sentence as received]

SCIENTEIA Extols System of Socialism

AU1207140789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1245 GMT 12 Jul 89

["Socialism—an Objective Requirement, the Sole Alternative of Peoples' Free Development, of Mankind's Progress—Excerpted Article in SCINTEIA of 12 July"—AGERPRES headline]

[Excerpts] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/7/1989—Socialism asserts its superiority, as the most righteous system, the only one able to ensure the peoples' free development, the progress of the whole mankind. This in one of the basic ideas set forth in the speech Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu made at the June plenary meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], and reiterated in the Theses for the Fourteenth Party Congress. [passage omitted]

Life, realities prove that socialism is not an "accident" of history, but the natural outcome of objective laws. Capitalism, discredited from a political and moral point of view, worn by an irreversible general crisis, has proved its incapacity to solve the major problems confronting peoples and, sooner or later, it will have to make room for a better and more just system—socialism.

That is why, it is not accidental that under these circumstances the imperialist propaganda, the campaign against socialism of the reactionary forces are intensifying. Their attempts are ever more evident to destabilize and slander socialism, to doubt and deny its achievements trying to weaken the unity, might and influence of socialism in the world. It goes without saying that, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu showed, the obvious aim of these actions is to brake—or at least to delay in one way or another—peoples' advance towards liquidating oppression and inequality, towards a better and more just world. It is equally obvious that, despite obstacles and difficulties, the victory of socialism is inevitable since it is the future. [passage omitted] In this light, some

countries' theses and attempts to weaken the leading role of the communist party, the emergence of so-called alternative forces which aim at reverting to the multi-party system that is tantamount to voiding one of the basic principles of socialism of its content are assessed with good reason as alien to the revolutionary, scientific conception and can but engender [word indistinct] wrong, in fact eliminatory, the idea of submitting the communist party's prerogatives to other forces, because this will ultimately lead to weakening the party, placing socialism in jeopardy. [passage omitted]

Daily Comments on Nuclear Deterrence Policy
AU0607193889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 6 Jul 89

["A Pressing Demand for the Ensurance of Peace: Renunciation of the Nuclear Deterrence Policy—Excerpted Commentary in the Romanian Newspaper SCINTEIA of 6 July"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 6/7/1989—In a speech at the recent plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], Nicolae Ceausescu, stressing that with the relative balance of forces achieved on a world plane as a result of which world peace has been maintained for nearly 45 years, a number of difficulties could be overcome and progress could have been made in the negotiated settlement of several pressing problems, showed that nonetheless the international situation continued to be particularly grave and complex.

This assessment is based first of all on the continuing arms race, on the large quantities of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and of conventional weapons in the world's arsenals, this tremendous accumulation of military means being a serious threat to peace and, in the event that nuclear arms are used, to life itself on this planet.

Unfortunately, facts show that militaristic circles will not face reality, will not accept something that cannot be shunned, namely that the development of nuclear weapons call for a sharp change of past political thinking, for a new approach to international issues for a complete renunciation of force and the military doctrines that rely on the use of force. Paradoxically, while acknowledging the danger of nuclear destruction, political and military leaders in certain NATO countries continue their attempts to make their idea—that it was precisely the nuclear weapons that would have safeguarded peace until now and therefore would be a guarantee for the future—gain ground and even prove it (which is impossible). This idea is the essence of the very "nuclear deterrence" theory or doctrine.

However, a closer analysis clearly shows how shaky this theory is precisely because it is founded on terror, and any peace rested on the "balance of terror" can only be uncertain. Time and again did the president of Romania say that as long as nuclear arms are maintained, the threat of a nuclear war with all its unpredictable consequences remains.

That the "nuclear deterrence" strategy is the strongest promoter of the nuclear armaments race, is shown by the current projects of the Atlantic Alliance to modernize its short range and strategic missiles, as the process of militarization of space continues and nuclear tests are going on.

The "modernization" process concerns first of all the short range missiles stationed in Europe that has just been ridded of medium-range missiles as a result of the Soviet-American accord. But, as President Nicolae Ceausescu told the press, not only would the proposed modernization virtually offset the effects of scrapping intermediate-range missiles but it would create an extra force, hence compounding the danger of a world disaster.

By virtue of the same obsolete outlook modernization also refers to strategic nuclear arsenals so as to make like weapons ever harder to be detected and destroyed. It is easy to reach the conclusion that such an improvement does by no means help "deterrence" from an attack but increases the temptation for a "devastating first strike."

Moreover, one cannot disconsider another essential aspect: Even if they were not used, owing to their "global" range of action, strategic nuclear weapons acquire the character of "global" weapons of politically blackmailing the countries that do not hold like armament.

One must in no way exclude the possibility of an accident, of a misinterpretation by the automatic warning systems or of irresponsible acts which, all in all, mean tremendous risks.

In other words, the developments in the arms race prove that the factor of "restraint" stops working, stops being operational, the "myth of nuclear deterrence," of "guaranteed mutual destruction" is dispelled and the nightmare of a nuclear war tends to turn from a mere hypothesis into a forthcoming and terrifying reality: Thinking it has acquired a deciding superiority, one of the sides can burst "the beginning of the end."

Given such a complete inconsistency and aberrant character of the theories of "deterrence" and "balance of terror," Romania has shown more than once that the only actually realistic way, the role alternative to a nuclear disaster is nuclear disarmament. Under such circumstances, President Nicolae Ceausescu stated, the renunciation of nuclear weapons and of the programmes for their modernization, and the achievement of new accords between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on a 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear missiles as well as of a general agreement on the liquidation of any nuclear weapons are fundamental problems of the international life.

To be on the brink of a nuclear precipice has never been and the less can it be in future a reliable means to guarantee security as it has always meant tremendous risks. The lofty interests of mankind's survival call for acknowledgement of the great risks the theory of deterrence implies, as Romania maintains alongside all the advanced consciences, as well as of the need to abolish it without delay by giving up nuclear armament so that the nightmare of guaranteed mutual destruction be replaced by relations of understanding, security and mutual confidence among states based on common sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind.

Senate Committee Adopts 'Anti-Yugoslav Amendment'
LD1307085289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0001 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Washington, July 12 (TANJUG)—The Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate today adopted without debate an anti-Yugoslav amendment which reproaches the Yugoslav Government for violations of human rights of some ethnic groups, especially ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. As learned, the text of the amendment is identical to the text of a resolution adopted at a plenary session of the House of Representatives on June 30.

The procedure now requires the amendment, added to a law on U.S. aid to foreign countries, to be adopted at a full Senate session, which will also discuss the law. It is not known when the session would be held, but it is expected to take place before the Congress recesses for the summer next month.

The law on U.S. aid to foreign countries becomes effective only after President George Bush signs it.

As expected, the amendment was submitted to the committee by Senator Larry Pressler of South Dakota, who has been known as a sponsor of resolutions benefiting Albanian separatists.

Those acquainted with the situation here say that chances are nil that President Bush could veto the law because it contains an anti-Yugoslav amendment.

In addition to the known formula of the support to the independence, unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, the amendment notes that "human rights of all ethnic groups in Kosovo must be observed" and says that "by limiting the social and political autonomy of Kosovo," the Yugoslav Government had created a crisis in the province and then responded with police measures to it.

The amendment [words indistinct] no formal or practical consequences, but it is believed it will be a stain on Yugoslav-American relations.

Milosevic Interviewed in Paris LE MONDE
LD1207143389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1347 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Paris, July 12 (TANJUG)—The current crisis in Yugoslavia was caused by the system of managing the country, which has created, among other things, a mammoth bureaucracy which no one can pay and which no one needs, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic said in an interview to the Paris daily LE MONDE—his first to a foreign newspaper. The independent French daily published the interview on a whole page, which reflects the interest abroad in the Serbian president.

At a time when the process of integration started on a global scale, Yugoslavia—said Milosevic—took a road in the opposite direction, leading to disintegration. Instead of tackling the problem globally, the system introduced divisions, confrontations and a fragmentation of capital.

Milosevic rejected a provocative question by the interviewer, LE MONDE correspondent Jacques Amaleric, to the effect that the late Yugoslav President Tito was responsible for the adoption of the country's 1974 Constitution, arguing that the existing Constitution had been "edited" near the end of Tito's life, when he was no longer able to judge "how much that system would destroy the country."

Milosevic said that Tito had no historical or personal reasons to fear Serbia, something that many say was underlying many solutions in the 1974 Constitution. It was in Serbia that the anti-Nazi uprising started, Serbian Communists were in the forefront of the people's liberation war, and they suffered the greatest losses in resisting fascism, he recalled. Historically speaking there is no justification whatever for these or similar imputations, Milosevic stressed.

If, however, culprits should be sought for the humiliating conditions under which Serbia lived for a long time, they are—in Milosevic's view—its highest officials, who, preoccupied with personal interests and positions, trampled on the interests of the people. These people authored the theses according to which the Serbs, as the majority nation, "should keep the lowest possible profile and be less present in political life in order not to irritate smaller nations." No nation can accept this, Milosevic said, adding that Tito defeated fascism under the slogan of brotherhood and unity, which remains the only basis on which Yugoslavia can survive.

Milosevic feels that the Yugoslav republics will find a common platform for a revision of the country's Constitution. He indicated that his Republic of Serbia would soon put forth proposals for direct elections with more than one candidate for each post. In that context, Milosevic opposed the current one-year term of office of the republican officials, explaining that such a short term "has destroyed responsibility and caused great errors, preventing any longer-term action."

Asked whether he supported political pluralism, Serbia's leader replied in the affirmative, but specified that the issue had been extensively ideologized. Milosevic expressed the opinion that the existence of more parties in the current conditions in Yugoslavia would not solve anything, but would, on the contrary, lead to new conflicts and would strengthen the elements which wish to destroy the country.

"A rare factor of cohesion which still exists in Yugoslavia is the Yugoslav People's Army," Serbia's leader Slobodan Milosevic set out among other things.

Kadijevic Speaks on Party Tasks in YPA

LD1207231689 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Jul 89

[From the "Radio Newsreel" program]

[Text] The 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress should adopt standpoints on all key issues of the social and League of Communists [LC] reform in such a clear and precise manner so that different interpretations of the standpoints and differing behavior of Communists stemming from different interpretations, is prevented.

This was said in the introductory speech by Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, today at the session of the Committee of the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], which discussed the proposed programs of ideopolitical tasks of the party organization in the army. Here are excerpts from Kadijevic's speech:

Our revolution, the LCY, and our country are at a major crossroads in history. Either we shall continue the great opus of Comrade Tito, the work of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the LCY, and a huge majority of all nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, by correcting courageously, energetically, and very rationally the mistakes and misconceptions which have brought the country into a grave crisis, correcting them primarily from the point of view of the demands of modern times, and also from the point of view of our own practice as a supreme criterium for assessing the validity of all solutions; or, we shall allow that the path is set by those who condemn the socialist revolution and see it as a civil war and a historical mistake, who proclaim Tito the main culprit for everything that is wrong, and jeopardize Yugoslavia in general, or, at least, Yugoslavia as a federal state. The choice of a way at this crossroads can only be one: The former is our path. The latter, which has many variations, some even mutually exclusive, should be defeated in practice ideologically, politically and in all spheres of its application, from the economy to the state.

Speaking about the 14th congress and its tasks, Kadijevic stressed that clear standpoints should be agreed upon as early as during the preparations for the congress through a broad-based debate, in which all the proposed standpoints should be evaluated by, primarily, Yugoslav standards. It has to become clear to everyone that no individual in Yugoslavia would be allowed to impose fractional interests as the dominant ones, or to promote some special conceptions from whatever position.

If we fail to prepare for the congress in this way and leave it to the congress to look for solutions to diametrically opposed standpoints, we shall be in danger of either having to resort to compromises, which are unlikely to remove the fundamental causes of the Yugoslav crisis, or face a complete split. The task of the YPA's LC Committee is to formulate its standpoints about all important issues on the future development of our country and our society, and to formulate them in a clear, simple and precise way. Armed with these standpoints, we shall enter into the general party debate, and, at the same time, we must state clearly that our standpoints are open to any argument and Yugoslav appraisal from either the army or society.

We all know too well, Kadijevic then noted, that the crisis can be halted only if its fundamental causes are removed. All measures undertaken in the past few years—not only did they fail to halt the crisis, but the crisis kept on spreading and deepening. These circumstances provided opportunities for all opponents, even those whose ideology and politics were defeated in World War II and the revolution—Chetniks, Ustashas, White Guardists, Balists, and others—and for the latest anticommunists and nationalists, to proclaim with one voice that our revolution, a failure of history and policies based on it is the basic cause of the crisis.

The aim of the latest tide of attacks on Tito's work and person—unfortunately much more prominent in the country than abroad—is to destroy the revolution's gains, primarily, socialism and Yugoslavia as a common state of the Yugoslav peoples. The essence of these attacks cannot be wrapped up and blurred so that those attacking Tito are not recognized. One group, defeated in the war, now demands that he be put on a trial; others who, at some stage, deviated from the main party line; the third ones, who have not yet attacked Tito openly, that is, who have not attacked him directly, but have been doing it indirectly and have been preparing, it appears, grounds for a direct attack.

The current situation, Kadijevic assessed, demands two crucial preconditions for a successful preparations for the congress. The first, that increasingly sharp political clashes, which occasionally assume the proportions of a war between the media in connection with real, and frequently constructed, political issues, are energetically terminated, and that all organized socialist forces are directed toward a concrete, tolerant and reasoned discussion about the basis issues of the reform which the 14th LCY Congress should consider. The second, that the embarked-on reforms are supplemented with appropriate progams when needed, made operational in a critical and constructive fashion, and that concrete help is provided for them; and, that the existing legal measures are implemented consistently, and that our actions harmonize with each other. I have in mind primarily, the federal secretary stressed, the program for the state and economic reform offered by the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and which the FEC is developing further and

putting into practice, and the program of measures regarding the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo, which involves Yugoslavia's political, economic and other support.

Participants in the discussion at today's session judged that the proposed program of ideopolitical tasks for the YPA LC organization provides a good basis for a further discussion. They concluded that the proposed program should be completed with the introductory speech and what was said in the discussion, and that it should be sent for public debate to all LC bodies and organizations in the YPA.

Further Reportage on LCY Committee Session

Koresec on Draft Report

LD1107220889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0828 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—The draft report contains a critical assessment of our work and the activities of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] in the period between two congresses. We have tried to assess what the LC's role has been in all processes from the 13th congress up to now, the things we have succeeded in, and what the causes are of the ineffectiveness of our ideopolitical action and why, despite the numerous adopted stances and tasks, there has been a further intensification of the social contradictions and inefficiency in the economic and political sphere. Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said this today, submitting his introductory report on the draft of the proposed report on the activity of the LCY and the work of the LCY Central Committee between the 13th and 14th Extraordinary LCY Congresses.

In the period between the two Congresses, particularly in recent times, the extent to which the crisis, which has been going on for more than a decade, is threatening the achievements and stability of our country, is becoming obvious. This means we must reexamine the reasons why subjective forces, and particularly the LC, were not sufficiently capable and did not have sufficient strength to implement the tasks of the 12th and 13th congresses, and we must also raise the question of whether our analyses and stances at these Congresses provided true answers to the challenges of social development. Since the LCY conference, we have been fully aware of the need for far-reaching changes of historical significance for the future of our society. However, although last year we opted for a complete and far-reaching social reform, we still do not have either in the LC or in society clear, full and theoretically-based platforms for reforms. Without complete social reforms we will not resolve the accumulated social problems and contradictions, and without them we are seriously threatened by the decline of society as a whole and also a possible split within the LC.

In preparations for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, the fact must openly be faced that a period has been concluded in the role and program orientation and methods and ways of working of the LC hitherto, during which it was the main factor in the system and the decisive initiator of the development of society and often of economic life itself. Hence the reform of the LCY is indispensable both in terms of its democratic role in society and in terms of its content and method of work and organisation, and of its moral and cadre renewal as well as the development of its own value strategy. It is also necessary that the LCY, in the spirit of the stances of the conference, clearly specifies its political program, its concept of the emergence from the crisis, and the further development of the society of socialist self-management in modern conditions. As a result of this, we must make a critical assessment of where the continuity of our socialist development lies tomorrow as well, something which we must make a radical break from because it has represented and represents an obstacle to overcoming the crisis and opening up new roads and space for creativity, human freedom, and democracy in socialism.

Korosec went on to speak about processes in the other socialist countries, stressing that the world of socialism is today at a crossroads, and is facing a crisis of its own economic inefficiency, economic backwardness, and a low level of democracy, all of which also threatens some of its social achievements. There is a great deal of turmoil in the socialist states and they are undergoing processes of radical political and economic reform, and from within they are split between forces wanting to advance socialism and those wanting to maintain the status quo of etatist bureaucratism. The strategic dilemma of either the development of an enlightened state socialism or the development of a democratic, pluralistic, and self- managing socialism is being resolved within the communist parties either by the abandonment of, or even by the strengthening of, the numerous outmoded ideological and organizational principles, which, though fruitful in the past, are now acting as a brake on socialist democratic development.

The secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium went on to draw particular attention to those assessments which the Central Committee ought particularly to clarify. These are assessments of questions on which differences have appeared in social life and political developments, something we were also faced with in the preparation of this report. This relates, in particular, to the assessment of: the process of democratization in our society, its positive charge, but also various interpretations and behavior in connection with concrete phenomena and events; the complexity of the causes and consequences of the crisis situation in Kosovo; current events and their resolution; the severity of the consequences of hyperinflation and the way in which and the rate at which to curb it; intranational relations and the achievement of national equality in the federation as our common homeland; relations and reponsibilities within the LCY, especially where it is a matter of the role and

reponsibility of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium; and of some other questions contained in the draft, which I do not want to repeat. The fact is that the situation in the country is getting worse from day to day, especially in the social, national, and political sphere.

Saying that well-known assessments of our economic situation are given in the report, Korosec stressed that we swear by the economic reforms more and more, but there is still not a sufficient real readiness to implement them and accept the consequences of them, and there is also open resistance. It is high time that we realized that they mean a delay in facing reality. For the LCY, the most important thing is how our scientific and overall progressive idea conceives of, on the basis of experience hitherto and common involvement with all self-managing democratic forces, the reform of the economic sphere, which it is possible to realize only if accompanied by the support of the working class and working people. This support will not be obtained by frightening people with the reforms, loss of jobs, the omnipotence of managers, and (?unrealistic) promises. In this context, the reform-minded adaptation of the content, work methods, and organization of the trade unions is of exceptional importance. In the conditions of the integrated market, their social-protection function as a vital factor in negotiations between partners in the reproduction process and workers will be much more marked.

Our basic ideological and political option is the stable material development of Yugoslavia and a modern and efficient system of socialist self-management and, in this framework, an economic system in which materially and morally motivated creators will effectively manage, while fully respecting the legality of commodity production and the integrated market, and [an economic system] in which deregulation and the unblocking will be carried out.

Inflation, with its destructive consequences and growing social and political tensions, can seriously threaten the dynamic of the implementation of the economic but also the overall social reforms. The growth in new forms of poverty and the existential threat to a section of the population requires effective and realistic measures to wipe out inflation. This is the only way that we can remove the illusion that inflation can be halted immediately. However, it would also be illusory to believe that galloping inflation will not also invalidate those positive results which have begun to stimulate our economy. Inflation cannot be crushed by an improvised antiinflation program. This is confirmed by all our experience hitherto, but likewise there can be no vacillation either with respect to the timely adoption of all necessary measures of economic policy so that a more significant reduction in the monthly inflation rate might be brought about by the end of the year. A program is necessary which will clearly outline the reform of the economic system and create the conditions for wiping out inflation.

Among the important questions of the implementation of the social reform, Korosec went on, is the simultaneous and harmonious development of economic and political democracy, outside of which one can in our country not speak about either economic or political reform. This is confirmed in particular by recent events in the socialist countries which are in the midst of profound reforms.

In the preparations for the congress, we must stimulate a critical analysis of the political organization of society which will reexamine everything upon which hitherto party constitutionality and statehood, or rather the authority of statism—both monocentric statism and polycentric statism—over society, has been based. This has all been transformed into an unwieldy political system, with a constitution which is too detailed and which generates all of this, but in the process both show their incompetence and immobility in the modern dynamic conditions of the market economy, democracy, and political pluralism.

Both in the LC and in our society, the basic direction of the political reforms is becoming increasingly clear, and it is one promoting the market economy, pluralist political democracy, and the strengthening of national equality and the federative character of the country. In this approach, the basic questions of our social and state system are social, political, national, and individual rights and freedoms, in other words all the dimensions of the sovereignty of the person and the citizen as well as of the nation, as the subject of social relations and the institutions of the system. There is no option but to remove the one-sidedness and misconceptions which we have lived with for a long time, over-stressing only the class dimension and the class collectivity and the freedom and sovereignty which arise from this—although I believe that here too there have been large-scale bureaucratic deceptions, because even today the working class has not won its campaign to control surplus labor. However, we should not fall prey to any kind of other one-sidedness. Modern democratic principles must obtain their real place in our multinational community. This perspective should be the basis for developing our new political system and new constitution. In this context, Korosec drew attention to the 1789 declaration on the rights of men and citizens born in the hotbed of French bourgeois revolution, to the United Nations general declaration on human rights, and to our own contribution—the democracy of workers' councils and self-management.

Fully guaranteeing individual freedoms and rights for each individual man and citizen is still a civilized goal and the basis for all future democratic processes. This has become particularly topical today, in our political practice and debates on the constitution in which the issues of, above all, the freedom of thought and speech, of the influence on the way society is run, of the rights to political associations and the freedom of press, have been raised as an essential part of the fundamental rights

in every democracy. The political wisdom of a movement such as the LC, consists in finding the dividing line between reality and the so-called positive utopia which opens up prospects and encourages progress.

To this end, the LCY must provide a framework for the entire reform-oriented socialist movement in Yugoslavia and specify its political philosophy and goals, and revise them to suite the present time and find directions for immediate, everyday action. This is why we must go to the 14th extraordinary congress prepared to critically review our practice so far and also equipped with a commonly conceived view of the issues of political, self-managing, national, and other rights and freedoms, and of a model of the social and state system capable of reflecting the needs and achievements of our overall socialist development and federal system and, at the same time, the achievements of bourgeois democracy. Only by relying on such a synthesis of historical experience and democratic ideas will our society be capable of overcoming divisions along the road to a higher degree of freedom and sovereignty for each individual and nation and gaining widespread trust.

In this, the LCY can feature only as an equal political factor, without any being given prime position, domination, and hierarchy. In other words, its prime position and its vanguard role, must stem from the force of its arguments, from its ability to provide a theoretical background for, and insight into, the long-term perspective of developing the society and to have an effective influence on the efforts to resolve open topical problems. Even this cannot be done without its very close democratic links and mutual interdependence and responsibility with all other subjective forces within the political system. Our awareness of the fact that we must fight for a creative and more flexible social position in a new pluralist society must breed new and bolder ideas, initiatives and innovations, high-quality, more attractive and more acceptable views and programs, democratic methods of work and better cadre solutions. Otherwise, we may find ourselves disappearing from the political scene. There is a need for a democratic transformation in the LCY as a prerequisite and a condition for an overall social reform.

Having stressed that the LCY did not arrive at these views either easily or fast, and having noted the decisions of the LCY conference and the LCY plenary sessions, Korosec said that the development so far has led to certain changes in the LCY itself which, for the first time in its history, has had to hold extraordinary congresses and conferences, has had to dismiss entire leaderships in some parts of the LCY, has experienced a cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee right up to the limits allowed by the statute, and resignations and renewal of over the half of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the renewal of almost the entire leaderships in many municipal LC organizations, and a whole series of similar developments. These are only some of the events generated by the great wave of critical awakening and also of general discontent among the working people and citizens which, because of its multilayered nature, comprises democratic and undemocratic, progressive and conservative, social and national elements. In this diversity of motives and goals, the LC has tried to maintain the direction of the action, to mobilize its internal forces and to bring onto the stage, communists and their basic organizations in order to channel this discontent productively toward the efforts to resolve everyday problems and to build a vision of a better and more successful future, and to prevent this wave from being used as a legitimate argument by the opponents of socialism and common existence in a federation of equal nations and nationalities.

In all these processes, there have been cases of inappropriate and excessive behavior, of slandering, pressures and the like, all of which led to numerous confrontations within the LC. A great number of differences became obvious even between the views of the LC organs and organizations, and there is evidence of differing political approaches to some fundamental issues concerning our federal system and our reforms. They are particularly evident in the case of the issues of the position and autonomy of the republican, i.e. of national LC organizations and of the role of the party leadership in Yugoslavia. This is, in fact, just another way of questioning the principle of democratic centralism in the LCY, i.e. of democracy in the process of harmonizing views and in the decision-making process. Of special interests are the issues concerning the relationship between the minority and the majority and those which have to be resolved by mutual consent. Then, there are various conceptions of the renewal and new contents of socialism, the character of the Yugoslav federation and the constitutional-legal solution to national sovereignty and equal relations within the Yugoslav federation, and the role of the state, and in particular setting-up of the low-governed state and sphere of freedom within a civil society and other democratic heritages, and so on. In reference to these fundamental political issues, it happens that various parts of the LCY adopt different approaches and some criticize each other even to the extent of intolerant and unprincipled polemics and attacks.

Nationalism of all kinds aggravates the situation. The causes are complex. They are growing, not just in their separatistic or unitaristic dimension, but also as a way of responding to the social crisis, and, within that framework, to feelings that national equality and identity are under jeopardy. The LC is frequently unprepared to oppose ideopolitically tendencies of national narrow-mindedness and obstinancy in interpreting some problems in a certain way and the political struggle to resolve them. This is one of the reasons in the complex net of causes which further exacerbated the drama in Kosovo, one of the most difficult political, moral, and social problems. Despite all problems and different assessments, precisely in the period between the two congresses, awareness of the Yugoslav dimension of the drama of Kosovo prevailed. In a nationalistic escalation,

both extremes—separatism, which is not only present in small nations, and unitarism—generate each other. Both are absolutely unacceptable to the LC because they lead to the termination of Yugolavia as a self-managing, federative, democratic community of voluntarily associated equal nations and nationalities. For that reason, among our most important tasks is to prevent divisions on national bases at the congress, because our joint perspective is only the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]

In the period between the two congresses, we have witnessed growing tendencies towards republican-provincial and national homgenizations and other divisions and political trends with differing motives and causes. It is necessary to establish whether, and to what extent, this is caused by a strategic conflict within the LCY between pro- and anti-reform forces, i.e. between various concepts of socialism and self-management and between the way and method of resolving current economic and political problems. This conflict is not so conspicious and obvious in the LCY's program orientations as it is in our social practice and retorics related to the implementation of the program objectives for which, unfortunately, we are yet to mobilize all society's potential. This issue must be approached with an exceptional feel for fundamental objective differences in the tempo at which the reforms are being accepted and implemented. These differences stem from both historical circumstances and specific features, and from the existing differences in the development of social and economic entities and in the differing nature of burdens shouldered by some sectors.

Behind differences in the views on some of the key issues, two differing concepts can be detected, Korosec continued, which have to be examined cool-headedly and without obstinate entrenchment if we are to arrive at a common and unanimous agreement. If we fail to achieve this before the 14th extraordinary, congress, the consequences for the congress will be fateful. In the search for a way out, we must proceed from the fact that there are great differences in the degree of development, from the class and national factor, from the LC's stands hitherto and experiences regarding these issues, from the latest knowledge about and views on the development of socialism, and also from the fact that the LC will not have authority within the working class unless it fights for its interests, or among the citizens as individuals unless it fights for their individual rights and freedoms, or among its own nation if it fails to fight for national interests. The fact is that we in Yugoslavia depend on one another and prosperity will be ensured only through our common existence. In any case, some more thorough analysis have shown that some of the present differences have, in effect, been exaggerated as a result of current political confrontations.

LCY 24th Central Committee Plenum

LD1107224789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1306 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 July (TANJUG)—A draft report about the activities of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee and its organs and bodies, in the period between the 13th party congress and the 14th extraordinary one, are the main theme of the 24th plenum of the LCY Central Committee which started today in the Belgrade Sava Center.

The highest-ranking party forum will at this meeting also elect a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Croatia to fill the place vacated by a recent election of Stipe Suvar to the SFRY Presidency. The proposed candidates for this office are Marko Lolic and Branko Cartan. Apart from this, a new member will be elected into the Central Committee from the Slovene League of Communists.

On the plenum's agenda there is also the adoption of the immediate tasks of the LCY Central Committee on the realization of stands and conclusions of the highest-ranking party forum on Kosovo.

Before starting with the agenda the Central Committee verified the ex-officio election of Nijaz Durakovic, new president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, to the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium.

Continuing the session Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium submitted an introductory report of the draft report on the activities of the LCY, LCY Central Committee and its organs and bodies in the period between the 13th LCY Congress and the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. Following today's plenum and possible changes and amendments, the report should be sent for an all-party debate.

In a report on the work between the two congresses, a bit more should also be said about the work of the LC over a longer period, said Tomislav Radovic, one of the first participants in the debate. There is no basis to place all negative trends in the mandate between the two congresses, which some people are deliberately trying to do. Speaking about the reform and changes in the LCY, Radovic judged that the LCY had been united and that everything had been fine until the time of a move from general assessments to concrete realization. When first armchair positions are shaken, all mechanisms are set in motion to preserve the acquired positions. [Passage omitted]

Vjekoslav Juricic was critical of the draft report. According to him, not enough was said about the reasons why the LCY no longer acts as a factor for synthesis and about the role of the republics and provinces, as well as of the federation in overcoming the present situation, while the realization of constitutionality and legality was also neglected. [Passage omitted]

On the situation in Kosovo, the report stresses the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and the provincial leadership, without mentioning the responsibility of the Serbian LC Central Committee, which is

clearly underlined in the stands from the 17th LCY Central Committee session, Juricic says. Also, the report speaks only about Albanian separatism and ignores Serbian nationalism. Also, there is no assessment of the results achieved in Kosovo and no answer to the question of why the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins continues, he said. Besides, he believes, the report also offers a contradictory assessment according to which, on one hand, the situation in Kosovo is increasingly bad, while on the other, conditions to overcome the difficult situation in the province have been created. [Passage omitted]

The League of Communists, Kalinic stressed, can have a future only if the working strata within the LC has the main say. If, also in the future, the LC is based on, above all, national interests, he warned, "then events will sweep away this party and as a coalition of national parties, it will be removed from the social scene".

Kalinic added that federalization, by suppressing internal partial democracy through barring members from being the main factor in the party policy making, is taking an increasing toll. If the relations within the LC were different today, he believes, then we would first have an LCY Congress, and afterwards, congresses and conferences in republics and provinces.

Asserting that the LC discussion on political pluralism is behind schedule, because "dogmatic forces" have been holding it back, Kalinic said that political pluralism resulted from the people's aspiration for more democracy and freedom. This is understandable, especially if one bears in mind the existing relations within the LC and "the transmission" role of the Socialist Alliance.

A multi-party system can be, as a final solution, administratively and politically prevented, but if the working class is not satisfied with democracy in the LC and the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWP] , Kalinic said, parties will be formed and will impose themselves, and will push into margins the present leading forces in society. [passage omitted: Bozidar Debenjak says that the draft report can be more thorough and more analytic. Marko Lolic and Lev Kreft elected members of the LCY Central Comittee Presidium and the LCY Central Committee.] [Transmission interrupted, TANJUG part 11 not received]

In a period between two congresses, Dragosavac continued, particularly in the past year, there have been many national and other gatherings and meetings and so on. I believe that in the report on the work of the LC there cannot be an easy assessment of this. We cannot pass over these phenomena using diplomatic tricks and trivialities, Dragosavac continued, saying that this year we had marked several significant jubilees, such as the Battle of Kosovo, Sarejevo assassination, the Communist Inform Bureau Resolution, the founding of the Yugoslav Communist Party. These jubilees were marked in different ways and there are various comments about them. There are praises for the speech of Slobodan Milosevic, as well as assessments that this is "a requiem for the SFRY", and there are many comments about the treatment of the federation officials who were present at the meetingin Gazi-Mestan. Neither should we ignore a recent meeting in Knin and chauvinist incidents of which there were not just a few at that meeting. [passage omitted]

Dragosavac also endorsed a proposal by Milan Kucan that the LC membership should be asked to stop all national and inter-republican arguments and that the Central Committee should ask the presidium to monitor the situation, react publicly and in case of need, convene sessions without waiting for the end of vacation, "since we cannot be resting while uncivilized battles are fought between leaderships".

Dragosavac also proposed that the Central Committee should support granting clemency, in particular to young convicted people, and that certain regulations which are not in accordance with the LC program orientation and constitutional and international norms should be "cleared up". If these stands were to be realized, Dragosavac believes, it would be easier for us to re-establish broken ties with the thinking democratic public in the country and the world, in particular with the European left with whom we had once been in conflict because we started De-Stalinization earlier, Dusan Dragosvac said in conclusion. [passage omitted]

Producers are the least guilty for the present situation, Stoiljkovic said and stressed in particular "inadequate and even unreasonable FEC [Federal Executive Council] measures". [passage omitted]

The draft report does not talk sufficiently about democratic centralism, although it is clear that Central Committee members, that is, presidium members, adopt certain stances and decisions by voting for them. It is clear that when they go back to their own environments, they do not act as [their previous] stances and decisions prescribe. In one of our republics, Bulja continues, it is practically demanded that the LC is removed from the social scene, which, in the final analysis, is an attack on the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] foundations of Yugoslavia.

For a long time, the LCY Central Committee Presidium had not been involved in changes in the Serbian Constitution, Bulja assessed. This played into hands of forces opposing the changes. Assessments about events in Kosovo, according to her, are not in accordance with stances of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee supported by the Serbian LC Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee, and this should be changed. [passage omitted]

Dobrivoje Vidic assessed that the claim, in the report on the work between the two congresses, that the LC is oriented to political pluralism, cannot be sustained. This

forum has not yet discussed this very important issue. Consultations with republican and provincial committees do not provide a sufficient basis for drawing a clear conclusion.

According to Vidic, statements on the civil society are not sufficiently clear. They employ different categories, and, at the same time, we begin to speak about the crisis of socialism in such a way that some individuals practically became propagators of capitalist social relations. A vision of a classless and exploitation-free society is gradually receding. If the only thing we need is an efficient economy, then the simplest thing to do would be to "make a transition" to capitalism.

According to Vidic, a part of the report talking about nonspecific and not well-considered promises of a better tomorrow for "one's own people" cannot be accepted. LC leaderships and nationalists are put on the same plane. Vidic said we cannot advocate termination of disputes and clashes, and, at the same time, allow confused suspicions. Vidic opposed tendencies to blame the LC and its leaderships alone for the crisis. He believes assemblies and other bodies and fora have their share of responsibility.

Politically, cadre renewal is one of the most important problems in our organization. The report should analyze what has happened in this area in the period between the congresses, Janez Kocijancic assessed. It is necessary to clearly judge whether great cadre changes in this period were consistently carried out in accordance with the statute and stances of the first party conference, and whether they contributed to the ideological and actual unity of the LCY.

According to Kocijanic, appropriate information on cadre changes should be included in the draft report so that doubt is dispelled as to whether "elimination and political liquidation of those having different views" was conducted. Kocijancic also believes that the report should include information about the number of those who "left" [the political scene]. It should describe how they did so and how many afterward were expelled from the LC, as well as how many were arrested and for what reasons.

Kocijancic advocated that the draft report specify the number of LC members who are incommunicado and for what reasons they are incommunicado. It should be also established whether stories claiming that "citizens and communists are beaten up in prisons," which is contrary to law, are true and to what extent they are true. Someone may think that my proposals are naive, and someone may see them as provocations, but I regard them as demands of the communist ethics, Kocijancic concluded. [passage omitted]

Nikola Jovanovic proposed that the LC should not vote on the draft report between the two congresses today. He said that in the debate several serious comments had been made on some of the key parts of the text, and that therefore the draft should be returned to the Central Committee's commission so that it could alter it in accordance with comments and proposals made in today's debate. Only after that should Central Committee members make their comment. The whole job should be carried out in the next fortnight [two weeks]

The draft report cannot, even with the best of intentions, be taken as anything but an anthology of sad truths. It seems that there is nothing else we can do but become some kind of official attestors to a chain of failures, Dr Zdravko Grebo stressed, submitting as he said, for personal reasons, his resignation from membership in the LCY Central Committee. [Passage omitted]

One should answer the questions whether socialism is at all possible, and if so, whether this is a desirable aim? Since I assume the answers to these questions are positive, one should see whether so far we have lived in socialism at all or whether this has been some kind of a historical foreplay for a real socialism, Grebo stressed. Because there is some foundation in the claim that the system in which we live, besides all the differences, belongs to a family of socialist realism. Then it follows logically that the party is one of the basic generators of crises. [Passage omitted]

Not wanting to admit that one model of socialism has worn out and another, which we self-indulgently believed is an original contribution to the world heritage, has never functioned, we have insisted persistently on repairing so-called, in principle, good institutional and procedural solutions, spoiled by wicked individuals. The fault obviously lies in the system. An additional factor of this historical overestimate lies with the lively proponents of the old politics, who, as if not noticing that Tito has died almost a decade ago, continued to rule in the old way, Grebo stressed.

Since the climax of faults was prolonged, the only options left to us are a radical turnabout, or nothing. Patching up and compromises, wanting to satisfy all interests for the sake of peace, are out of question. We should consider radical changes and not the preservation of traditions.

Not wanting to admit these faults in the system, and in the absence of a coherent conception and vision and a lack of an elementary ability to resolve social problemss, all important social conflicts were transposed to the plane of national programs. Work on homogenization of one's own people started in earnest, because anything else, let us be honest, would mean the loss of power. This means making pacts with all political options within national boundaries, and leadership, and a Faustian contract in the pocket, and which, in Yugoslavia, amounts to legalization of fractions. Why don't we admit this, Grebo asked?

These platforms are, according to him, logically and ideologically incompatible, and the report is silent on this point. Is this moral in the situation of social poverty and in the situation where it is clear that some republican leaderships tolerate promotion of propagators of their nation? One must be naive to believe that journalists and nationalists cause nationalism without the involvement of top politicians. [Passage omitted]

Assessing Grebo's speech as very good, Dragosavac called on him to withdraw his resignation to the membership of the Central Committee.

Taking part in the discussion, President of the LCY Central Committee Presidium Milan Pancevski noted that the report is among the first congress documents which will be sent among the broadest LCY membership. The LCY Committee, all its organs and bodies have the responsibility to present objective and realistic assessments of their own activity and the overall situation in the society. Taking into account the overall situation in society, characterized for a long period by a deep economic and political crisis and multiple problems in implementing the set tasks, as well as the lack of a full vision of a further development of society on the basis of socialist self-management, we must bear in mind that this report has a special ideopolitical importance and cannot be a matter of routine, nor drawn on the basis of the established stereotypes. The draft report is conceived to underline all crisis points in our society and to establish as clearly as possible their causes.

Citing LCY Central Committee activities in the past, Pancevski judged that the activity was confined to the level of LC forums and that it was not sufficiently specified, nor followed by adequate activity in other LC bodies and organizations. Of course, this does not diminish LCY Central Committee responsibility, but we must not overlook the responsibility of all LC parts to implement party policies.

It has been shown that a marked gap existed between, on the one hand, program stances and established LCY Central Committee tasks, and, on the other, activities in LC organizations in republics and provinces and other forms of organization and activity of the LC all the way down to the basic LC organizations.

Our orientation on the three reforms, which should be a new stage in the development of society, must give some results as soon as possible and must consolidate the social awareness of working people and citizens that it is the true road on the way out of the crisis and a new perspective in development. These issues, Pancevski stressed, must have the central place in the report. And precisely through a critical review of the work and activity of the Central Committee and its Presidium, we should see new LCY tasks in a successful implementation of the social reforms.

An important question, to which an answer must be given, is what kind of LC we want and what its role and place in society will be. How, and in what way will the LC implement its stances and what is its ideopolitical role, as well as that of the avant guard of the working class? How will the LC respond to the omnipresent demands for a further democratization of the society as a whole?

In this period, many contradictions accumulated, whose roots lie in the long monopolistic position of the LC regarding decision- making. All this demands that the LC self-critically reviews its role and place in society and finds right solutions. Whether the ideopolitical basis for the LCY transformation provides the correct response to the challenges of the time, will be shown in a public debate through a relation which the broadest membership will have towards congress documents.

Correct, clear, and concrete answers must be given to these questions. We in the LC had insufficient political will and ability for self-criticism to face them on time.

In our social scene, we today face very different ideological orientations and efforts regarding constitutional changes, the place and role of the federation, republics and provinces, then, issues relating to the economic reform, place and role of the army and all-people's defense, various movements and committees, as well as the place and role of media. Although the LC established, in essence, correct stances about all these issues, direct activity was missing. This enabled numerous unclear issues, confusions and opposing efforts, deviating from the fundamental values on which our socialist self-managing community is based, to fill political space.

A social climate is created in which all issues are open. For that reason, the LC must determine its stance toward these phenomena and set a basis for a clear congress documents. If the LCY Central Committee does not raise these issues and does not take an appropriate stance toward them, Pancevski stressed, then the broadest membership will, and is, asking them. We cannot overlook these issues. The Presidium and the Central Committee must have a clear stance about them and must present them to the greatest number of LCY members.

In this period, we must establish a series of shortcomings in the economic and social spheres, as well as the fact that we are swamped by the increased activity of various antisocialist and antiself-management forces which are increasingly gathering around objectives and programs contrary to LC policy and socialist self-management. In this, utterly negative consequences result from separatist and nationalistic trends and counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo. However, the LC and other organized forces, Pancevski said, have not always reacted on time in a united and decisive fashion to all these phenomena, nor have they opposed them sufficiently successfully.

The crisis cannot be successfully overcome by making diagnosis, describing the situation, and adopting rather general and principled stands or directions of development.

At the LCY conference, we judged that there is no speedier way to overcome the economic and social crisis, nor can social development be ensured on a stable basis, without radical reforms in the economic and political system. The comprehensiveness of these changes can only be ensured by a deep transformation of the LC itself.

In all this we have to be aware of the fact that we are at the crossroads with an old model of social development which can satisfy neither the needs of social progress nor challenges offered by world trends. We must turn toward new, more modern social trends which are based much more on scientific results, a modern scientific and technological progress, further democratization of society, the strengthening of integrational processes and wider participation by our society in the international division of labor.

The fact is, Pancevski believes, that in the period up to 13th congress we had implemented certain changes in the economic and political systems and established the basic orientations of the LCY transformation. However, it has turned out that all these changes were not enough to eliminate efficiently the basic hotbeds and causes of our economic and social crisis, nor were they sufficient for further and speedier social progress. Therefore, it is up to the LC to assess the depth and further possibilities of these changes and establish tasks to fulfil them comprehensively. At this juncture, we are in the process of seeking new and even more radical changes which will have a wider reform character.

A debate on the report on the work between the two congresses should present a stimulus for the widest membership of the LC and all creative forces to mobilize themselves to solve numerous problems in society. First of all, this should be done through an assessment of their own practice and their own results in the direction of a way out of the crisis. It is very significant that there should prevail in the LC, the idea that a comprehensive social reform and a development of a new vision and practice of socialism, as well as the overall socialist prospects, also demand a fundamental transformation of the LC itself. Therefore, the LC and all progressive forces in society are faced with very responsible and complex tasks which can be realized only through the widest possible ideopolitical activity of all LC members and all of its organs and organizations, Milan Pancevski concluded, the last participant in a debate on the draft report on the activities of the LCY, LCY Central Committee, and its organs and bodies in the period between the two congresses.

Following a several-hour-long debate in which 22 members of the LCY Central Committee took part, Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, on behalf of the LCY Central Committee commission for drafting proposals on the report, spoke about the sound basis of numerous comments, suggestions, and proposals on the draft report. According to Korosec, the commission endorsed most of these suggestions and ideas.

The commission did not endorse the proposal that for the time being the draft should not be sent for a public debate. The stand that the Presidium should first discuss differences and controversies in the LCY is not realitisc. The proposed draft report should be prepared while working toward the next congress, Korosec said.

Nor was the proposal to postpone a public debate, because the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and its presidium was not clearly defined, accepted, because, as Korosec said, the Commission was not authorized to assess the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee, rather the LCY Central Committee should do it itself. The entire membership should first take a stand on the draft report, and then, once again, the LCY Central Committee itself.

Presenting further the stand of the commission, Korosec said that most of the proposals and suggestions had been endorsed, including that the text of the report should be written in a more contemporary, up-to-date, and clear language. The suggestion that the failure to realize the decisions of the 13th congress, the role of the LCY in the past period, and trends and relations in the LCY, should be expressed in the draft report in more precise terms was also endorsed.

According to the secretary of the LCY CC Presidium, from today's debate the commission also endorsed numerous suggestions referring to the activity of the LCY in the economic area and agriculture, as well as those connected with changes in the political system.

With reference to a part of the report that refers to the LCY itself, according to Korosec, the commission believes that the text should be clearer, in particular the section about relations within the LCY itself, between the LC organizations of the republics and provinces, as well as about the separation of the party from the state.

Following a proposal by a participant in the debate that the draft report should also contain a section on the members of the LCY CC who were arrested and kept in isolation, Korosec proposed that a separate report should be made on this and that at one of its next sessions, the LCY CC should decide whether this should be written into the text of the report.

After this explanation, the LCY CC adopted the draft report about the activity and work of the LCY and its bodies in the period between the two congresses, which,

together with necessary additions and corrections, will be sent for a public debate. According to the adopted conclusions, the debate on the report will be carried on until the end of October. Afterwards, the LC will adopt the final proposal of the report at a session in November, and send it to the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress for adoption. The draft report will also be sent to all republican and provincial LC organisations and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and the federation, and it will be published in LCY papers and will be available to the public.

Regarding Zdravko Grebo's resignation, Korosec said, I understood it as a conditional resignation. However, I am obliged to draw attention to a statutary regulation which, in article 44, clearly states that resignations must be explained and assessed by a competent body. I believe that conditions for this are not met today, and I propose that the Central Committee adopt the stance that a discussion about a possible resignation of Zdravko Grebo be postponed until the next session.

Explaining that he is resigning from the LCY CC for personal reasons, Zdravko Grebo stressed that the resignation is motivated by political reasons. Thus, it presupposes a discussion on essential political issues, disagreements, and misunderstandings in the LC and the Central Committee, he added and stressed that he would explain the resignation in this manner next time. [passage omitted]

The second item on the agenda of today's session was the adoption of the operational tasks for the implementation of the conclusions and tasks on Kosovo. The previous session failed to adopt them, as it is known, due to the lack of a quorum. The quorum, as Milan Pancevski explained at the conclusion of the Presidium of the LCY CC, failed to materialize due to the other commitments of LCY CC members with regular work obligations. As a result of the length of the discussion, the planned 1-day session lasted until late at night, and Central Committee members left the session because they did not have ensured accommodations.

The Presidium received numerous protests by LC members over this incident. It acknowledges them, and will try not to repeat such a situation in the future, Pancevski stressed.

The President of the Commission for Setting Operational Tasks, Perko Vukotic, later explained additions and changes to the proposed text of tasks. [passage omitted]

Afterwards, the Central Committee adopted unanimously the operational tasks on Kosovo.

Regarding the initiative of the municipal committee of the Urosevac LC that Ali Saban be removed from the LCY CC, the top LCY forum formed a working group which will examine all relevant facts. A report on this should be ready for a September session. Thus, today's LCY CC Session ended.

Drnovsek, Loncar Depart for Paris Celebrations

LD1207175289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—At the invitation of French President Francois Mitterrand, President of the SFRY Presidency Janez Drnovsek left for Paris today to attend the celebrations for the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution.

Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, left with Drnovsek.

Drnovsek is expected to hold talks with several foreign statesmen, who will attend the celebrations.

At Belgrade Airport, President Drnovsek was seen off by Borisav Jovic, vice president of the Yugoslav Presidency, Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the SFRY Assembly, Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, Ljubisa Korac, secretary general of the SFRY Presidency, and Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs.

Michel Chatel, the French Ambassador to Yugoslavia was at Belgrade Airport to see Drnovsek off.

Arrival in Paris

LD1307034489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1753 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Paris, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, arrived in Paris this evening, where, as a guest of President Francois Mitterrand, he will attend the bicentenary celbration of the French revolution. Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, arrived with Drnovsek.

It is expected that French President Mitterrand will receive Drnovsek during his 2-day visit. [passage omitted] It is expected that Drnovsek will have talks with U.S. President Bush, Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, FRG Chancellor Kohl, and others.

On Saturday, Dr Janez Drnovsek and the official Yugoslav representatives are scheduled to meet Yugoslavs living in Paris.

Official Assesses Gazi Mestan Celebrations

AU1107205289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jul 89 p 3

[R. Barjaktarevic report: "The People Thwarted the Enemy"]

[Text] Pristina, 6 July—More than 2 million people, mainly Serbs and Montenegrins, attended the magnificent celebrations to mark the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in Gazi Mestan and Gracanica on 28 June. Not one single excess was reported at any of the 80 manifestations in the commune between 15 and 29 June or at Gazi Mestan and Gracanica. All the participants who came from virtually all regions of the country and from abroad, were given a proper welcome by the hosts and real hospitality in the Pristina commune. Gratitude that the celebrations ran smoothly should be expressed above all to the people who came, as well as to the hosts from Kosovo Polje, Gracanica, Laplje Selo, Babin Most, and other places.

This was said today by Hajredin Bujupi, head of the Pristina Security Center, at today's session of the Executive Committee of the Pristina Communal Assembly for marking the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo.

Even though enemies, particularly from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, announced sabotage, threatened, and made themselves heard, the people thwarted every one of their attempts. All cultural and other manifestations concerning the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo took place without any excesses. That is, none of the participants gave the enemy any opportunity to act. Thus, all the announced attempts aimed at reducing the significance of these festivities failed.

It is true that the enemy appeared at this time. In the period from 15 to 30 June, 6 hostile slogans and around 120 hostile leaflets were found in the Pristina area. One hundred and three "proclamations of the Republic of Kosovo" and 13 leaflets which "called on Muslims to unite in the name of Allah into a great Islamic state" were also found. Apart from at the celebrations, 126 misdemeanor offenses have been carried out in the Pristina area in recent days, as well as 45 house thefts, and 81 thefts from cars in the commune's area. Sixty people were quickly detained, and misdemeanor charges were file against 45 people. On the 28 June alone, 631 people had their identification checked, as did 348 drivers in the Pristina commune, said Bujupi.

The executive committee of the Pristina Communal Assembly said the main reason that the water was cut off on 28 June was because of "accidental damage to the water system by a military vehicle."

In reply to the question about why there were traffic jams, Bujupi said: There are three reasons: First, a lot of rain fell the night before and the Traffic Committee met and changed the traffic procedures because the improvised parking had been adversely affected by the rain. The second reason was because the approach roads to Gracanica and Gazi Mestan were overburdened with vehicles and pedestrians. So a pedestrian bridge was created between Gracanica and Gazi Mestan. The third and perhaps main cause was in our bad estimates. We expected most of the traffic to come from Nis but something else happened. Most vehicles came from the Titova Mitrovica direction and the Ibar highway.

Bujupi added, not one traffic accident nor any damage was reported. All the credit goes to the participants in the festivities and the drivers.

Bujupi said that although many suspects had been detained, unknown persons stoned several buses and two trains after the festivities. The security organs discovered in time a barricade that was set up on the road near the village of Had. Rocks, a kitchen stove, and pots and pans had been put on the railroad track on which the train carrying the diplomatic corps from Belgrade was traveling. The train traveled safely after the intervention of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

All participants in the discussion (Sadri Godanci, Milorad Bigic, Predrag Lazic, and others) said that these were festivities to remember. Gratitude was expressed to the journalists who had carried out their job well but to individuals from Radio and Television Zagreb (because of contentious commentaries). The Student Center in Pristina was given special thanks for providing comfortable accommodation for about 1,000 participants.

However, the unresolved question remains of who will reimburse all the costs. Bills have arrived amounting to more than 1 billion dinars and the organizers of the festivities have already been paid 360 million dinars.

New Assembly President Elected in Titograd

LD1207150689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1318 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Summary] Titograd, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—Today, at a session of the Titograd municipal assembly, Dr Jovan Kavaric was elected president of the municipal assembly, Zoran Knezevic vice-president, and Bozidar Gazivoda president of the executive committee.

Further on Chamber of Republics Budget Session

Session Opens

LD1207152389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1118 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the Assembly of Yugoslavia will meet on Friday 14 July to discuss proposed

temporary measures designed to balance the budget of the federation this year. At this session, the Chamber is also expected to adopt 18 decisions and financial documents directly connected with balancing the budget. Among these documents there are also four temporary measures which refer to the question of foreign exchange differences and refunds for interest on credits in agriculture.

So far agreement has not been reached on balancing the federal budget for this year in the appropriate Finance Committee of the Federal Assembly. According to the proposal by the Federal Executive Council, the federal treasury should have around 62,000 billion dinars this year. Since no agreement has been reached, the law on temporary measures should be adopted on Friday at the chamber of the Republics and Provinces session, which starts at noon [1000 GMT]

Presidency Approves Interim Budget

LD1207153589 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] At today's session, the SFRY Presidency approved the recommendation that the proposed law providing for an interim federal budget for the current year be passed as a temporary measure. The finance committee of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces has been informed of this decision. The information has been passed on to the president of the chamber.

Provincial Measure To Adjust Budget

LD1207214889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1628 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 12 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav state Presidency today agreed, as a provisional measure, to introduce a law on a provisional establishment of the overall volume of the federal budget expenditures for this year, as it was announced today at a session of the Finance Committee of the Assembly of Yugoslavia Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

With the approval of the Federal State Presidency, the federal government has prepared a proposal of a provisional measure for the readjustment of the federal budget, on which the Assembly of Yugoslavia Chamber of Republics and Provinces is to vote on Friday.

The provisional measure is being resorted to since the federal units have failed to reached accord on the readjustment of the federal budget in regular proceedings. In order to be passed, the federal government proposal must on Friday receive two-thirds of the votes in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, meaning that no consensus is necessary.

The federal government decided to take the step assessing that any further delay of a decision on the readjustment of the federal budget "could do significant harm to the social community." Such a delay would cause unforeseeable consequences in terms of the ensuring of funds for the country's armed forces, the inadequately developed (?areas) and provinces, the veteran security, interventions in the economy and other beneficiaries of the federal budget, as the federal government has explained.

Under the federal government's proposal, the federal budget for this year is to be readjusted by 61,200 billion dinars. Under the initial proposal forwarded to the federal legislature, the figure had stood at 65,800 billion dinars.

In the regular proceedings, all federal units had objections to the proposed readjustment of the federal budget, but the Republic of Serbia was, in the end, the only one to withhold its approval.

At today's session of the Finance Committee of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, Serbia's delegate Toplica Nedeljkovic repeated the reasons for which Serbia had failed to give the "green light." The main point is, as Nedeljkovic said, that the federal government proposals and also the absence of an accord on how to solve the problem of differences in exchange rates in the case of individual international credits additionally burden Serbia's economy. Nedeljkovic said that Serbia's demands are not new and that the republic would further insist on them during the debate on the next readjustment of the federal budget.

Serbian-FEC Dispute Viewed

AU1207203889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8-9 Jul 89 p 1

[Dragoljub Zarkovic commentary: "The Fate of the Budget From Friday to Friday"]

[Text] Last Friday's sessions of both chambers of the SFRY Assembly were heralded with optimistic announcements, but most attention—at this time of friction and all kinds of disagreements—was paid to the almost idyllic fact, of which the assembly leaders boasted, that as many as 18 decisions were adopted per session at sessions of the committees of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces until then—a record for the present composition of delegates.

Seven days later, things were completely reversed.

What happened—and why—from Friday to Friday for the budget readjustment and the appropriate acts to still be incompleted, and for the delegates of both chambers to once again go home without having done their jobs, thus necessitating that they must meet again on Wednesday when money for the federal purse will probably be decided on through a majority vote?

According to the principle of "Oops, I did not mean that", the delegation from the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia withdrew their endorsement of the budget at the moment when additional talks with Macedonia had almost succeeded in finding a formula for convincing the delegation from the smallest republic to agree on the adjustment.

In the general context of the increasingly evident disagreement between Serbia and the Federal Executive Council [FEC], this complication immediately caused political repercussions, showing that it was time for a "bare-fisted" fight. Until this time, the bickering had been in the form of more or—most frequently—less objective, expert, or well-intentioned criticism and sermons in the so-called "Belgrade press," but the dispute came onto the public stage the day before yesterday. In the final stage of the marathon session of the Finance Committee, Milibor Jovanovic from Serbia expressed thanks for the FEC's proper replies, but that was all; Consent was withdrawn because Serbia had been harmed. Aleksandar Mitrovic, FEC vice president,—and one of the Serbian cadre—said that the burden on Serbia had not been increased nor "had this been anyone's intention," that he did not know "what could have happened in the meantime, and what was the new thing that had changed Serbia's stand."

Serbia cited the Government's intention to propose temporary measures for some laws—directly connected with the budget adjustment—which those in Serbia thought would be discussed after contentious questions of interest to this republic were resolved. However, even the "Assembly pigeons" knew two things that Friday: That there is not enough money for everything and that the FEC would have to propose temporary measures for some areas.

Therefore, Mitrovic wondered "what was this new thing that happened?" There were also those who interpreted this question as: "It is nothing new but something old," claiming that the "dispute below the surface" had only reached the light of day.

Thus, as always in our country, economic policy is swiftly becoming merely politics, only the economy and every citizen of this country suffer. If anything is obvious, it is that by withdrawing its consent—and this on a broad front of criticism ranging from SAL [expansion of abbreviation unknown] loans to the oil supply—Serbia has begun to work toward maximizing its demands. In this budget reconstruction, this is untenable at a time when even allocations to the Yugoslav People's Army are being reduced in real terms.

In this respect, no one is surprised by the stand of a government which has rejected the demands from Serbia point by point. But had the FEC not done this, it would have been done by delegates from the other federal units because any new squeeze on the budget would lead to further increases in turnover tax, customs duties, and contributions from the republics and provinces; in other words, it would fall on the shoulders of every citizen and Yugoslav enterprise.

Since Serbia has kept its stand and the FEC has not surrendered one inch, the only way out is to go for temporary measures, which means that the government must turn to the SFRY Presidency which is "responsible" for approving such a procedure. However, the Presidency has already hinted that it is not exactly prepared to use this institution, so now all possibilities are currently in the game, which is something about which more will be known on Monday when the SFRY Assembly continues its work.

Focus is also on some other—what could be called procedural—issues. One of them is certainly the way in which the delegation from the SR of Serbia withdrew its consent. Novak Rodic, who explained the altered stand in the Finance Committee, mentioned "consultations in the Assembly of the SR of Serbia" but consent was withdrawn literally at the same moment when the statement was issued—via TANJUG—from the session of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Serbia which is—in principle—open to the public.

In reply to a direct question from Jane Jernej, Milibor Jovanovic said that "the procedure concerns the relationship between the delegation and the Assembly of the SR of Serbia." However, the fact is clear that it was exactly this Assembly which authorized the delegation to give its consent, and it is not known whether this mandate was taken away.

What was it that really changed overnight? Did Serbia now move its offensive on solving its problems from predominantly the political field to the economic, and begin to fiercely fight for what it thinks justifiably belongs to it? Many people are inclined to say that this is in fact the case, but if this is so, then certain proprieties must be observed. The way that this was done seems to be more of an "opening up of a crisis in government" which up until a few months ago was being applauded in Serbia. Ante Markovic's cabinet has already well and truly settled into the most uncomfortable jobs in the federal leadership, and begun to work on what it promised the Yugoslav public—a thorough reform of a wrecked economy. However, it seems as if it has been greeted by some kind of obstruction orchestrated according to all the rules of military tactics: it began with a barrage (in the press) and has now come to a storming attack (in the Assembly).

When it comes to principles, it is of course unwise to think that dissatisfaction with economic policy—which for now is not deviating from proclaimed and once affirmed principles—involves some "Serbian exclusivity," because new people who will be dissatisfied with certain actions could just as well appear tomorrow.

However, everyone must keep in mind at least one thing: if the behavior is not eliminated whereby everyone applauds declarations and programs, but boos when it comes to measures which do not satisfy absolutely all their interests, we will never extricate ourselves from our current situation.

Markovic and his cabinet deserved at least as much in order to thoroughly complete its program along the line overwhelmingly supported by the country. It is always easier to criticize than to act, and it is easier to replace a person than to improve the situation.... Today the country is in such a situation that it cannot be worse. Therefore, a principled coalition of all well-intentioned forces would at this moment have to have greater weight than the mere call for it that has existed in our country for years.

Presidency on Repealing Measures in Kosovo

LD1207214989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1613 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 12 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of Yugoslavia today decided to do away with the largest number of emergency measures in the autonomous province of Kosovo, southern Yugoslavia, introduced on last February 27 for dealing with separatism by ethnic Albanians.

The collective Yugoslav Presidency today repealed measures limiting the movement of persons subject to military conscription and the use of annual leaves by some employed people and forbidding them to go abroad.

In the Yugoslav Presidency's evaluation, the ban on gatherings of major numbers of people for the purpose of demonstrating should still remain in force since the situation in Kosovo, where ethnic Albanian separatists organised demonstrations with armed rebellion elements last March, has not yet fully returned to normal. Nobody is still kept in isolation in Kosovo, the Yugoslav presidency was informed by the competent authorities.

Otherwise, the bans on movement during curfews and on holding sports and cultural events were annulled in Kosovo some time before.

The obligation to work is still in force in only seven enterprises of vital interest for the economy and normal life in Kosovo.

SAWPY Session Postponed for Lack of Quorum

LD1207153889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1009 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—Today's session of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] Federal Conference was interrupted today due to the lack of quorum. Of 243 delegates in the Federational Conference, only 105 turned up at the session. As a result, a very important debate on political pluralism in the conditions of self-managing and socialist democracy, and the election of the new president of the Women's Conference of Yugoslavia had to be postponed. Nadezda Saranovic from the Montenegro SAWP Republican Conference has been nominated to head the women's organization. These topics will now be discussed at the first autumn session of the SAWP Federal Conference.

Today the delegates only heard a report by the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs about preparations for the ninth summit meeting of nonaligned states in Belgrade.

Brief on Nonaligned Summit Preparations

AU1207172389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Now we have a report on the session of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] which was stopped after 1 and ½ hours of work. The debate on political pluralism was postponed until fall. The session was stopped because it was at least 20 members short of a quorum.

Within the framework of the first point on the agenda, our country's preparations for the forthcoming ninth summit of Nonaligned countries in Belgrade were discussed. One of the priority tasks of this meeting will be to make the Nonaligned Movement capable of actively participating in world processes of disarmament and the democratization of international relations, as well as in linking economic and social components with [word indistinct] security, said Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs.

Here is a report prepared by Azra Muhefendic:

The forthcoming great summit of nonaligned countries, which will be held in Belgrade from 4th to 7th September, will be the most important international event this year with extraordinary significance and new elements, said Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, in his introductory speech. He recalled that at the ministerial meeting in Nicosia, Yugoslavia was chosen to be the host of the conference and that this was a choice of options for the further development and modernization of the movement. This role is in line with our national priorities, and we could not have accepted it otherwise, said Budimir Loncar.

[Begin Loncar recording] On the other hand, we must realize how difficult and serious this is, and how much it returns us to our own backyard, how much it returns us to our own problems, how much it returns us to quickly overcoming some of our own dilemmas, so that we can perform such a role. This means that we have not only been accorded an honor, but we have rather been entrusted with responsibility. This is what, I think, must fill us all with a feeling of responsibility. [end recording]

The federal secretary explained why a modernization of the Nonaligned Movement is now being insisted upon. Since 1961, the nonaligned countries have experienced an affirmation of their values because several strategic aims of the Movement have been reached in this period.

[Begin Loncar recording] However, the movement unfortunately lacked action at that moment when its key strategic aims were beginning to be reached. Therefore, above all it must face this and be aware that it must, of course, find a new approach and it must be at the level of its own aims but also correspond to the reality of the situation.

On the other hand, Yugoslavia, which has had such a role in the movement, has itself, I may say, in a way been slow in bringing its views of the world up to date because the movement itself has lagged behind in such a way. [end recording]

Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, reported that 102 nonaligned countries will take part in the summit. Representatives from 10 countries will come as observers, 13 countries will have guest status, representatives from 18 international organizations will be observers, and there will be (?8) others guests.

In the introduction to this report, we said that the session of the Federal Conference was interrupted because there was no quorum. Journalists succeeded in finding out that, for example, only one of the eight delegates from the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia came, as well as only 8 of the 28 delegates from Bosnia-Hercegovina, and only 6 of the total 20 delegates of the Republican Conference of the Croatian Socialist Alliance.

[Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene at 1330 GMT on 12 July reports that "among the republican conferences of the Socialist Alliance which have 20 delegates each, Slovenia and Macedonia were the best represented with 12 delegates each and Montenegro the worst with only 5 delegates."]

Josip Hrvatin, secretary of the Federal Conference, assessed this mass nonattendance as an expression of the irresponsible attitude of not only delegates, but also of republican and provincial conferences of the Socialist Alliance. Bearing in mind the entire political and economic situation in the country, we would assess this as a political scandal.

Let us recall that delegates should have discussed political pluralism in conditions of socialist self-managing democracy. By failing to attend the session, the delegates showed that they are not interested in the subject which is not only interesting at this moment, but also divides and (?antagonizes) certain people in the country. The whole matter is made worse by the 12 billion dinars which is how much the session has cost, even though the session will have to be repeated. It is now clear that it should not be held in the same way, but can we hope that it will not include the same people.

Finally, we mention that at the beginning of the session, Smiljka Milojevic, a delegate from the Bosnia-Hercegovina Socialist Alliance Republican Conference, put forward the proposal that was adopted by the delegates of the Federal Conference that interethnic relations in the country be discussed at the next session and specific actions be taken to stop inter-republic and interethnic confrontations in Yugoslavia. It was also decided to conduct a debate and take stands on unfounded attacks on the personality and work of Josip Broz Tito which, as it was said, were also attacks on the integrity of Yugoslavia.

Debenjak New LCY Ideological Commision Head

LD1207161789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1338 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—Today at a session of the Commission for Ideological and Theoretical work of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Bozidar Debenjak was elected president of the commission, replacing Radovan Radonjic who resigned.

Bucin Explains Role in October 1988 Events

AU1207192589

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 6 July on page 4 and on 7 July on page 5 carries a 3,500-word statement to BORBA by Nenad Bucin, member of the SFRY Presidency, on his "participation and responsibility for the Montenegrin events in October 1988," consisting of nine points.

Bucin says: "I do not intend to comment on, and even less to polemize about, special newspaper articles and especially the rumors started by those in certain circles who have started to constantly attack my personality, almost making a profession of it, with unconcealed pleasure and tendenciousness." He then explains that he was invited to go to Titograd on the afternoon of 7 October, because the mass protest meeting in front of the Montenegrin Assembly building demanded that he do so. At the meeting, he supported "the basic causes of the dissatisfaction that had built up through the years," but "I made an undisputable mistake by appealing to the people to disperse and to allow their justified demands to be considered and met under quieter and more regular conditions." For short periods during the following night of 7 October, he attended the joint session of the Presidium of the Montenegrin League of Communists Central Committee and the Presidency of Montenegro in Titograd. He did not make a speech as such, but urged the session to become open and to announce this to the crowd.

Bucin explains his view that the emergency measures in Titograd were "formally" adopted at that session, "but neither the SFRY Presidency, nor the Presidium of the

League of Communists of Yugoslavia, nor the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs can be dissociated from responsibility for these measures." He says that he refused to take part in the subsequent televised session of the Montenegrin Presidium and Presidency, and that he expressed his views on the "justified demands" by the Titograd protest meetings on several occasions.

Montenegro Assembly Elects Officials

LD1307050189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Summary] Titograd, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—At today's constituent session, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro elected Dr Dragan Radonjic to the post of the president of the republican assembly. Prior to the voting, delegates considered the possibility of the president of the Montenegrin assembly being elected by referendum. After the Legislative and Legal Commission pointed out that this would require a change of the electoral laws, which would mean that the election would have to be postponed, the delegates decided to follow the electoral proceedure in force.

Afterward, the delegates of the Montenegrin Assembly elected Ivan Brajovic, former secretary of the Montenegrin Socialist Youth Federation, to the post of the assembly's vice president. They also renewed the mandate for the members of the republican Executive Council.